THE DOCTRINE OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

DR. J. P. KIRSCH

Translated by
Rev. J. R. Mc. KEE.

The Doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the Ancient Church

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The Doctrine

OF THE

COMMUNION OF SAINTS

in the Ancient Church

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF DOGMA

BY

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Sancta Maria, et omnes Sancti intercedant pro nobis ad Dominum: ut nos mereamur ab eo adjuvari, et salvari, qui vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum.

Cives supernæ curiæ,
Amicti stolis gloriæ,
Ab intra pleni lumine,
Ab extra pulchritudine,

Quam mentis in excessibus
Fruimini cælestibus,
Tenentes sceptra regia,
Securi nunc de gloria!

Certamus hic in pelago
Hujus sæculi luctifluo,
Ad portum nos reducite
Pacis æternæ patriæ.

Ut vivi fontis gratiæ
Inebriemur flumine
Et laudes permagnificas
Reddamus Deo debitas.

Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi.
Vol. XXX. p. 144.

Angeli, Archangeli, Throni et Dominationes, Principatus et Potestates, Virtutes cœlorum, Cherubim atque Seraphim, Patriarchæ et Prophetæ, sancti legis Doctores, Apostoli, omnes Christi Martyres, sancti Confessores, Virgines Domini, Anachoretæ, Sanctique omnes intercedite pro nobis.

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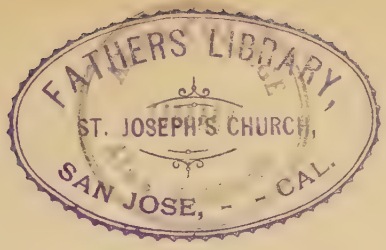

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

I.

THE treatise on the Communion of Saints now presented to the reader in an English translation, although written some ten years ago, seems singularly useful at the present time. In such works as "Les saints successeurs des dieux," by M. P. Saintyves, and M. Solomon Reinach's "Orpheus," the attempt is made to trace the beliefs and practices connected with this article of the creed to a pagan origin. The best answer to this attack on an integral portion of the catholic creed is to be found in the representation of the facts as they present themselves to a frank and intelligent investigator such as Professor Kirsch. His treatise is so simple in construction, and so plain in its conclusions, that any description of its method and contents is superfluous. In the face of the assertions made by the writers named above, it is surely desirable that all, both catholics and non-catholics, should have placed before them so excellent a restatement of the Church's faith concerning the Communion of Saints, as Dr. Kirsch has here given us.

II.

But if those, to whom the doctrines and practices bound up with the belief in the Communion of Saints

have a priceless value, are pained by such attacks as I have mentioned, they may well rejoice when they see how elsewhere the saints are gradually coming to "possess the kingdom" from which they seemed all but entirely banished in the sixteenth century.

Among the doctrines and practices singled out for special attack at that period we find conspicuous those sanctioned by the Church in connection with the veneration of the saints. There is no need to quote the utterances of protestant reformers both in England and on the Continent in support of this assertion, for it is beyond dispute that all religious veneration of the saints, all reliance on the power of their intercession, and all invocation of them whatsoever was at the beginning of the movement regarded as anti-Christian and idolatrous.[1] Yet, if we follow

[1] Lest these assertions should seem too strong, it may be well to give a few quotations from the writings of Anglican reformers: JOHN BALE, Bp. of Ossory (*Yet a Course at the Romish Fox*, 1543), "And whereas ye seek to maintain the invocation of saints, condemning these books for speaking against it, ye show yourselves a more foolish heretic, idolater and papist than any that I can hear of else." BP. RIDLEY (*Injunctions of* 1550), "*Item.* That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints . . . rubrick primars with invocation of saints . . . or any other such like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the King's Grace's most godly proceedings" (*Works of Bp. Ridley*, Parker Society, p. 319). BP. HOOPER (*Early Writings*, Parker Society, p. 35), "What intolerable ill, blasphemy of God and ethnical idolatry is this, to admit and teach the invocation of saints departed out of this world!" (*Ib.*, p. 36), "So now this worshipper of saints departeth from the known and almighty God to an unknown god, and preferreth the doctrine of man and the devil before the scripture of truth and the living God." BP. LATIMER (*Remains*, Parker

the development of reformed doctrines in England, we are arrested by the fact that, unlike protestant bodies on the Continent, the teachers of the Anglican Church began, as early as the next generation, to occupy themselves with the question of the veneration due to the saints and the practices to which it gave rise. Gradually the extreme iconoclasm of the protestant reformers gave place to the academic speculations of the Caroline divines, and it seemed as if Anglican theologians in the seventeenth century were in the fair way to agree on certain points of doctrine and practice with regard to the veneration of the saints; such as, that the souls of the Blessed possess an intelligent life in a state of bliss; that they intercede, *in genere* at all events, for the welfare of the Church on earth. They seemed, however, fairly agreed that the souls of the Blessed are excluded from the Beatific Vision until the last judgment, and that all direct addresses to them for their intercession with God are vain and useless, and even dangerous, wrong and derogatory to God's honour.[1]

Society, p. 186), "But here learn, by the example of the disciples, whither thou shalt run in thy distress; namely to Christ (for He is the right helper), and not to the saints; for when I call upon any creature, I commit most abominable idolatry."

[1] This must not be understood as implying that the Caroline divines laboured together to construct a definite scheme of doctrine on these points, or were all perfectly agreed on any one of them. Their individual opinions have to be gathered from their writings. *Cf. e.g.*, ARCHBP. USSHER, *Answer to a Jesuit's Challange;* PREB. THORNDIKE, *Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England*, bk. III. chap. xxx.; BP. MONTAGUE, *Treatise of Invocation of Saints;* BP. FORBES OF EDINBURGH,

While the doctrine of the Caroline divines shows a decided advance upon that of the first generation of protestant reformers, it is, nevertheless, far removed from what the Catholic Church declares to be contained in the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, and was, in fact, originally promulgated more or less in opposition to her teaching. Recently the Caroline doctrine has in its turn gradually developed into something much more closely resembling the teaching of the Church. During the nineteenth century, a great change came over the teaching and practice of Anglicans in regard to the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, and it is this change which we maintain should be a source of gratification to those who have never questioned the Church's doctrine and practice in this respect. We expect to find justification for our faith in antiquity; but we scarcely expected to find one of its distinctive and

Considerationes Modestae, "de invocatione sanctorum." This writer approaches more closely to the catholic standpoint than any other Anglican divine of the seventeenth century. The heading of the 3rd chap. of Part II. of the treatise in question runs: "Cap. III. in quo solum invocationem sive compellationem angelorum et sanctorum ut una nobiscum, et pro nobis Deum orent nec ut illicitum, neque etiam ut inutilem damnandam esse probatur." ARCHBP. BRAMHALL, *Answer to De la Millitière*, *Schism Guarded*, and other passages in his writings (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology); ARCHBP. LAUD, *Against Fisher*, sect. 33, &c. Later in date, *cf. An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion*, chap. III. (1st ed. 1704); *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium Liber*, *auctore* THOMA BURNETIO, S.T.P. (London, 1720). The question came up in the discussions between the Non-jurors and the Eastern Patriarchs in the eighteenth century. *Cf.* G. WILLIAMS, *The Orthodox Church of the East* (1868).

most controverted doctrines vindicated and maintained by the spiritual descendants of men who rejected it with abhorrence. "Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis!"

The statues of the saints broken down in the sixteenth century "with axes and hammers" have now been replaced in the altar-screens of St. Albans, Winchester, All Souls (to mention only a few conspicuous examples); the western fronts of ancient English cathedrals and larger churches are once more adorned with figures of martyrs, confessors and virgins whose memory is held in veneration by catholics. Yet this, were it all, need be no more than the indication of a desire to indulge in ecclesiastical decoration or architectural embellishment. Lutherans, in recent times, have done the same for the ancient churches in their possession—the Jung St. Peter-Kirche in Strassburg occurs to one's mind as an illustration—and even in some of their modern churches statues and paintings of the saints enter largely into the scheme of decoration. But of spiritual and religious veneration for the saints there does not seem to be a trace, either among the members of protestant bodies on the Continent or among the nonconformists in English-speaking countries. It is to the revival of this veneration for the saints and servants of God among members of the Anglican Church that we wish to draw attention. The course of this revival and the extent to which it has already attained will perhaps be best understood from a rapid survey of the chief phases through which it has passed.

III.

It was the Tractarian movement which gave the impetus to this further development of the Anglican conception of what the Communion of Saints signifies. The original leaders of the movement expressed themselves with reserve on the question. In 1835 Newman declared that "the addresses to the Blessed Virgin in the Breviary . . . . carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgment of an English Christian. . . . These usages certainly *now* do but sanction and encourage that direct worship of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, which is the great practical offence of the Latin Church, and so are a serious evil."[1] Four years later, Dr. Pusey writes: "Our Church . . . . is content to feel the blessedness of that mystical union [the Communion of Saints], and with the assurance that it must be a blessing, without intruding into that holy fellowship with selfish or unauthorized prayers to them to intercede for us individually, or approaching them with language, which, if they hear it, must be shocking to them, as belonging rather to their Lord."[2] But besides the "moderate Apostolical party,"[3] "a new school of thought was rising, as is usual in doctrinal inquiries, and was sweeping the original part of the Movement aside." It included others besides Oakley "who knew nothing about the *Via Media*, but had heard

[1] *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75; "On the Roman Breviary," pp. 9, 10.

[2] *Letter to the Bp. of Oxford*, 1839, p. 204.

[3] NEWMAN, *Apologia*, p. 269 (1st ed.).

much about Rome. . . . These men cut into the original movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in their own direction."[1] They were not content with the academic discussion of theological opinions such as satisfied the minds of the Caroline divines. They travelled abroad, formed friendships with those they met in foreign countries, and knew the Catholic Church, not as she is represented by her enemies on paper, but as an active living organisation. "Whatever our Tractarian friends may have been on this side of the Channel," says Canon Oakley, "there could be no doubt of their perfect catholicity on the other. It was, in fact, of so enthusiastic and demonstrative a character as to astonish the natives themselves, and sometimes even perhaps to shame them. . . . In the churches they were always in a state of prostration, or of ecstasy. Everything and everybody was charming; and such a contrast to England!"[2] It is evident that to people of this temper of mind "addresses to the Blessed Virgin" were far removed from being "the great practical offence of the Latin Church." These were the men Bishop Bagot had enjoined upon Newman to keep straight,[3] and he tried to do so, as all the world knows, by writing Tract XC. He himself has told us his aim in writing it was "to go as far as was possible in interpreting the Articles in the direction

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 277-278.

[2] *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement* (1865), pp. 73 *et seq.*

[3] NEWMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 158 (1st ed.).

of Roman dogma."[1] Guarded and tentative as were the conclusions of the tract in all that relates to the saints, "friends and opponents discovered that" Newman's "premises required what" he "was very unwilling to state categorically, for various reasons, that the *ora pro nobis* was not on" his "showing, necessarily included in the invocation of saints which" Article XXII. "condemns."[2] Could any admission be more carefully worded! However, it was enough. The revival of the practice of invoking the saints in the Church of England dates from this hour.

We have seen how Dr. Pusey expressed himself in 1839. It is not surprising to be told that he was "much annoyed" at the appearance of Tract XC. and that "he scarcely agrees with Newman's view, though he is very kind. A great difficulty with him . . . . is that Newman has committed himself to leaving 'Ora pro nobis' *an open question*."[3] Still it was ever Dr. Pusey's way to make the best of things, and it is interesting to follow his attempts both to gloss over, in the first place, the differences of opinion between himself and Newman, and then, as time went on, to accommodate himself to the growing practice of invocation among Anglicans which he was powerless either to check or to control. In his letter to Dr. Jelf "in explanation of No. 90," written in 1841, he endeavours to distinguish between "an address to a saint, as the result of a momentary feeling, and

[1] *Ibia.*, p. 162.

[2] NEWMAN, *Letter to the Bp. of Oxford* (1841), p. 18.

[3] The Rev. R. W. Church to F. Rogers. *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, Vol. II., p. 333.

habitual prayers to them, as *devotion*"; the latter in his opinion "tends to substitute them in the place of God, the other does not."[1] He grants the former "occasional addresses . . . . occur in the fourth century," but goes on to warn Anglicans of "the risk to their own souls in resuming [the practice], even in its lightest form," because not "recommended to *us* by our immediate Mother."[2] Four years later Dr. Pusey admitted, in a private letter, "I see things in Antiquity which I did not (especially I cannot deny some purifying system in the Intermediate State, nor the lawfulness of some Invocation of Saints), that I dare not speak against things."[3] In another private letter, written shortly after Newman's reception into the Church, he admits again, "I found that some Invocation of Saints was much more frequent in the early Church than I had been taught to think, that it has very high authority, and is nowhere blamed . . . . and then I came afterwards to see that the *actual* Roman *formularies* did not assert more on these subjects (as apart from the popular system or 'Popery') than was in the ancient Church. Practically then, I dissuade or forbid (when I have authority) Invocation of Saints; abstractedly, I see no reason why our Church might not eventually allow it, in the sense of asking for their prayers."[4] Nevertheless, in order to forestall the publication *in extenso* of Horst's "Paradisus Animæ" by one of the more

[1] Dr. PUSEY, *Letter to Dr. Jelf* (1841), p. 108
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 121.
[3] *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol. II., p. 457.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 44.

advanced school, Pusey brought out his own translation of that work in 1847, "adapted to the use of the English Church." The adaptation includes the entire omission of the second section, "de cultu et veneratione sanctorum cum Christo regnantium in cœlis," and of as much of the seventh section as relates "de cultu et veneratione Beatæ Virginis Mariæ," while elsewhere throughout the book the angelic salutation is replaced by some short prayer or ejaculation. In the long preface, Dr. Pusey states that "however it [invocation] may be explained by Roman Catholic controversialists to be no more than asking the prayers of members of Christ yet in the flesh, still, in use, it is plainly more; for no one would ask those in the flesh to 'protect us from the enemy,' 'receive us in the hour of death,' 'lead us to the joy of heaven,' 'may thy [the Blessed Virgin] abundant love cover the multitude of my sins,' 'heal my wounds, and to the mind which asketh thee give the gifts of graces,' or use any of the *direct* prayers for graces which God alone can bestow, which are common in Roman Catholic devotions to the Blessed Virgin."

In his letter to the Bishop of London, written in 1851, Pusey does not directly deal with the invocation of saints beyond quoting the above passage from his preface to the "Paradisus Animæ."

This then seems to be the attitude maintained by Dr. Pusey for some twenty years. Others, however, less sensitive to what the "immediate Mother" of Anglicans recommends to her children, and feeling far from satisfied with so timid and ill-defined a position, showed by their teaching and practice that they felt

justified in adopting a form of devotion that Newman had taught them was not condemned by Article XXII. Anxious to control, and, if possible, confine the practice within limits that might with some plausibility be regarded as Anglican, Dr. Pusey first republished Tract XC. "with an historical introduction" of his own in 1865, and then in his Eirenicon, of which the first volume appeared the same year, once more stated his views on the invocation of saints. By this time he thought it expedient to show how far he had advanced beyond the position laid down in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford in 1839. He now declares "the difficulty (concerning invocation) never could have arisen" had catholics kept to the simple statement of the Council of Trent, as explained by the catechism and Bishop Milner.[1] The same views are put forth in the "Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles" by Dr. Pusey's friend and disciple, Bishop Forbes of Brechin, published in 1867-68, which owes much to Pusey's suggestion and supervision; in fact "he supplied almost the whole of the passages which, under the head of Article XXII., deal with the subject of Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints."[2] The aim of this section of the work is "to assert the truth of the literal meaning of the Article, that the doctrine of Romanists 'on the Invocation of Saints' is 'a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God'; and then to show what has been the real mind of the ancient Church upon this point

[1] *Eirenicon*, Vol. I., p. 100, *et seqq.*
[2] *Life of E. B. Pusey*, Vol. IV., p. 146.

of doctrine." Quotations from the fathers and writers of the ancient Church are adduced to prove that the saints were invoked in their day, and it is stated that no Anglican ought to take exception to such forms of invocation as are found in their writings. But then, the popular practice of catholics has ever tended to go beyond what is authorized by the Council of Trent and by standard theologians such as Cardinal Bellarmine and Dr. Klee, and it is against such popular exaggerations, both in ancient and modern days, that Article XXII. protests.[1]

The substantial development in Dr. Pusey's teaching consists in this, that in his earlier days he declared Anglicans could not use invocation of saints in any form without risking their salvation, while by 1865 he had brought himself to admit in his published writings that there was nothing to condemn the practice so far as it was authorized by the official statement of the Council of Trent. In fact his complaint now is that in his opinion the Catholic Church has not been sufficiently careful in keeping popular practice within the limits laid down by the Council.

The more advanced Anglicans were not slow to take advantage of this change in Dr. Pusey's teaching. In 1869 appeared a manual of prayers entitled "The Invocation of Saints and Angels, compiled from Greek, English and Latin sources for the use of members of the Church of England," edited by Mr. Orby Shipley, then a clergyman of that Church. In

[1] A. P. FORBES, *An Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, pp. 379-425 (5th ed.).

the preface the editor states that the book "is intended to supplement practically the work effected dogmatically by these treatises (*i.e.*, Bishop Forbes' 'Explanation'; Canon Humble's essay in the third series of 'The Church and the World,' and the introductory essay to the reprint of 'The Femall Glory') on the invocation of Saints." The book is made up of litanies and prayers bearing upon the worship of the saints, many being directly addressed to individual saints and to the angels, such as had not been before presented to Anglicans for their devotional use. In the same year appeared also the first edition of what is perhaps the most popular of all Anglican manuals of prayer, "The Treasury of Devotion." It may not be too much to say that no other book has had such an influence upon the devotional life of Anglicans for now over forty years. In the forms for private morning and evening prayer in this book, there comes after the Lord's Prayer "the Angelic Salutation or Memorial of the Incarnation," which runs as follows:— "The Angel said unto Mary: Hail, thou that art highly favoured. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women. Amen." Among the "devotions for saints' days," the versicle and respond, "Blessed art thou among women: And blessed is the Fruit of thy womb," appear, but beyond this there are no direct invocations of saints in the book. Still the desire for the benefit of their prayers is expressed in the following words from the first forms of morning and evening prayer: "May the intercessions of the holy Mother of God, of the Prophets, of the holy Apostles, of the Martyrs help me! May all the Saints and Elect of

God pray for me, that I may be worthy with them to possess the Kingdom of God. Amen." Dr. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, traces back "the revival of the practice of Invocation of departed Saints" to this manual, which he nevertheless feels bound to call "in many ways a good book."[1]

No doubt the last forty years have seen an astonishing revival of the practice among a certain school of Anglicans. In numerous manuals of devotion compiled for their use, it forms almost as conspicuous a part as in any catholic prayer book. It is no longer a question of adaptation.[2] The angelic salutation in its complete form, the Litany of Loretto, the Salve Regina and the Ave Maris Stella and other devotions to saints and angels are now bodily transplanted from catholic manuals. The recitation of the Holy Rosary is inculcated along with other ways of manifesting devotion to the saints. All this shows how deeply the religious veneration for the saints has already entered into the spiritual life of a large and influential section of the Church of England.

It was not, of course, to be expected that an attempt to alter the doctrine and practice of a body like the Church of England with reference to the saints could be effected without encountering serious and vehement opposition. Accordingly, from the

[1] In his Preface to the Rev. H. F. Stewart's *Doctrina Romanensium de Invocatione Sanctorum*, pp. 9, 10.

[2] It would be impossible to give a list of these manuals. "Catholic Prayers," edited by the Rev. A. H. Stanton, and "The English Catholic's Vade Mecum," are perhaps among the most widely used.

appearance of Tract XC. to the present day, protestant opposition to the veneration and invocation of saints has been unceasing. Yet the strength, vehemence, and persistence of the opposition have, it would seem, only resulted in the spread and establishment of the doctrines and practices attacked. It has availed nothing that those who take the protestant side in the debate have a tradition of over three centuries behind them, and have enjoyed the support of the Anglican episcopate and the majority of the members of their Church.

In 1904 it was deemed expedient that a Royal Commission should inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of divine service in the Church of England. The report of the commissioners was not issued until June 1906. In this document the commissioners point out that the evidence they had received of the use of invocation did not "indicate the full extent to which prayers to the Virgin and the Saints and requests for their prayers are prevalent in the Church of England."[1] "Hymns, prayers and devotions involving invocation of, or confession to, the Blessed Virgin Mary or the Saints" are among the practices which the commissioners regard as "plainly significant of teaching repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England and certainly illegal," and which they recommend "should be promptly made to cease by the exercise of the authority belonging to the Bishops and, if necessary, by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts."[2] Three and a half years have passed since

[1] Par. 254 of the Report. [2] Report, pp. 76-77.

these "Recommendations" were issued, and no cessation at all of the condemned practices has taken place. The revival of the practice of invocation does not seem to have been in the least affected by the action of the royal commissioners. The Anglican Bishops in their visitation charges certainly endeavoured to exert their authority against the practice, but apparently with no more effect than the commissioners themselves. Among the bishops, Dr. John Wordsworth of Salisbury is prominent for his efforts to see that the "Recommendations" should be carried into effect in his diocese. As might be expected from so scholarly a prelate, his attempts have been marked by careful moderation, by a desire to base the condemnation of the veneration and invocation of saints on solid philosophical and historical grounds, and by entire fidelity to the tradition of the Caroline divines. In 1907, he contributed an introduction to a treatise undertaken at his suggestion, "Doctrina Romanensium de Invocatione Sanctorum," by the Rev. H. F. Stewart, formerly Vice-Principal of the Theological College at Salisbury. A large portion of Mr. Stewart's treatise is devoted to the consideration of the doctrine or, as he calls it, the "theory" of merit, upon which he considers the veneration of the saints with its external manifestations are really based. The rest of the book travels over familiar ground and does not contribute any fresh ideas to the discussion. The following year, Bishop Wordsworth published a lecture on "The Invocation of Saints and the Twenty-second Article," which he had delivered to some members of the Society of Sacred Study. In

the preface, his Lordship states that he has become aware "that there is a rather active and enthusiastic propaganda" occupied in spreading the practice of invocation, and he warns those who compose it that "if they still continue to circulate books recommending [invocation] and to inculcate the practice upon the young . . . . they must expect to be openly and individually rebuked, and to bear the reproach of being disturbers of the peace and work, as well as, in some degree, of the faith of the Church."[1] The conclusion of the lecture is that the clergy of the Church of England, "having assented to the Article in question, cannot inculcate the use of the 'Ave Maria' in its sixteenth-century form or the 'Ora pro nobis' as used in the mediæval Litanies, or introduce any such invocation of saints into hymns or other forms of worship."[2]

On the other hand, the practice finds an able exponent in the Rev. Darwell Stone, Pusey Librarian at Oxford, who in 1899 contributed an article on the subject to the Anglican *Church Quarterly Review*. He subsequently republished the article in a separate form, and it has gone through several editions.[3] In this, as in Mr. Stone's other writings, we find a sincere desire to penetrate to the root of the matter, absence of prejudice in investigating evidence, and a defence of the conclusions obtained as firm as it is temperate. It seems that the Anglicans who are in favour of the revival of invocation have found in Mr. Stone a champion and spokesman whose qualities impress

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 4, 7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[3] *The Invocation of Saints*, by DARWELL STONE, M.A. New and enlarged edition, 1909.

even their opponents. After adducing the evidence of the ancient Church in favour of invocation, the treatise deals with the action of the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century: "The Church of England, then, in the course of the Reformation did three things with regard to the invocation of saints. In the first place, she entirely removed any kind of invocation from the service books. Secondly, in the Articles drawn up in order that they might form a statement which the clergy must agree not to contravene in their public teaching, she condemned the extreme practices and ways of thought in which the saints had been called upon to grant boons which are in the power of God alone, and had been given a prominence in devotion which was derogatory to the honour of God. Thirdly, in the same document she left it an open question whether the clergy might express approval of the practice of invocation in the limited sense of seeking from the saints the help of their prayers."[1] It seems as if Mr. Stone is even a little embarrassed to find a form of invocation which would fall under the condemnation of Article XXII. without censuring at the same time the forms of invocation authorized by the Catholic Church. Like the Tractarians before him, he draws a distinction: "If the request addressed to the saint is for his prayers to God, and if it is understood that any knowledge which he possesses of the request is the result of his beholding God or receiving revelation

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 49. I do not understand to which of the Articles Mr. Stone refers, if by "the same document" he alludes to them.

from God, then clearly the making of such request does not in principle differ from prayer addressed to God for the prayers of the saints. If, on the other hand, the request is for gifts which God alone can grant, or if it is supposed that the saint has independent knowledge of the words addressed to him, then, as clearly, such a practice is different in principle from 'comprecation.' It follows that invocation of the former kind is lawful, and that invocation of the latter kind is wrong."[1]

We may be pardoned if, with Dr. Paget, Bishop of Oxford,[2] we regard this as "a refined distinction which would be practically meaningless to most men," for it is certainly meaningless to catholics in so far as catholic theology is clear on the point that the gifts which the suppliants of the saints implore can only be given by God alone. No matter what the wording of the petition to the saint may be, no matter what the thing prayed for may be, no matter how unable an individual catholic may be to express his conviction of the influence of the saint's intercession with dogmatic accuracy, the teaching of the Church is plain that God alone is the ultimate Giver of all gifts spiritual or temporal which the faithful believe have been obtained from Him through the intercession of the saints.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

[2] *Visitation Charge*, p. 56, quoted by Mr. Stone, note 1, p. 56.

[3] *Cf.* CARDINAL WISEMAN, *Lectures on the Catholic Church*, Lect. XIII.; "From Him alone can any blessing possibly come. . . . He is the sole fountain of salvation, and grace, and of all spiritual, or even earthly, gifts . . . . no created being can have any power, energy or influence of its own, in carrying into effect our wishes or desires."

The chance of a condemnation of the practice by the authorities of the Anglican Church creates misgivings in Mr. Stone's mind, for if the clergy by their acceptance of Article XXII. "may not invoke the saints in any form of prayer, this in itself would be sufficiently disastrous as tending to separate English Church people from the great Fathers of the East and West and from Catholic Christendom."[1] Again he cannot hide from himself the disastrous results which might ensue from widespread condemnations of the invocation of saints. "The hope of a reunited Christendom is a hope which he would deem it falsity to Christian principle to abandon. However the Church of Rome may some day control and check unauthorized devotions, it cannot be anticipated that she will ever reverse the careful and guarded statements of the Council of Trent on this subject. And any who should approach her with a demand for such a reversal would, in the judgment of the author, be placing themselves in a false position. If that be so, it follows that to condemn the invocation of saints is to put an unjustifiable barrier in the way of reunion with the Church of Rome."[2]

I have quoted at length from this interesting and important treatise, not only because it approaches more nearly to catholic teaching than almost any other Anglican work on the subject—in fact it is difficult to distinguish in what points Mr. Stone's belief differs from the teaching of the Church on the Communion of Saints—but also because it seems to be regarded by friends and foes alike as the best and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 63. [2] *Ibid.*, 64.

fullest, as well as the latest statement of what is held by a certain section of Anglicans concerning the invocation of saints.[1]

From the publication of Tract XC. to the present day the religious veneration of the saints has made steady progress in the Anglican Church. It is no longer a matter for academic discussion or archæological research or mediæval æstheticism; it is becoming, nay, it has already become, in the case of a large section of Anglicans, an integral part of their religious life. It is this fact we wish to emphasise, for it is among the more remarkable features of that reaction towards catholic faith and practice in the Church of England which is a unique phenomenon in the doctrinal developments of those churches which owe their origin and inspiration to the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century.

* * *

In translating the German word *Verehrung*, I have used indifferently *cultus*, *veneration*, or *worship*. The phase "worship of the saints" is one to which non-catholics take exception, but without just cause, since we read in the "authorized" and "revised" versions of the English Bible that "all the congregation . . . bowed down their heads and *worshipped* the Lord *and* the king (David)."[2] However, for the catholic sense of

[1] There is a larger and more elaborate Anglican work on the same subject: *The Invocation of Saints treated theologically and historically*, by H. R. PERCIVAL, D.D., London, 1896, but it does not seem to have attracted so much attention as Mr. Stone's treatise.

[2] 1 Chron. xxix. 20.

the phrase, one may refer to Perrone's "Tractatus de cultu sanctorum," Cap. I.; Tanquerey's "Synopsis Theologiæ Dogmaticæ," De cultu sanctorum, vol. I., pp. 616 *et seqq.* (12th ed., 1909); Cardinal Wiseman's "Lectures on the Catholic Church," Lect. XIII.

I have added a few references to works which have appeared during the last ten years.

THE TRANSLATOR.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

NUMEROUS Christian inscriptions belonging to the second century, and several allusions in Tertullian's writings, show that the custom of praying for the departed and commemorating them at the Eucharist had become a fully developed practice even at that early date. It is with the view of investigating the origin and underlying principles of this practice that I have undertaken to trace the development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints during the early centuries of the Christian era. The result of my research is given in the following essay, which forms the first number of the "Forschungen zur Christlichen Litteratur-und Dogmengeschichte." The reception of the article "sanctorum communionem" into the Apostolic Creed of the Gallic Church affords a chronological limit for these investigations. In recent years this last question has been treated by many writers without an altogether satisfactory explanation having been as yet arrived at. This was a further inducement to employ the results already obtained in the essay on the development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints for a fresh examination of this question in the concluding chapter of the treatise. For the Ante-Nicene period I have endeavoured to make the fullest possible use of the sources of information. With regard to writers of

the fourth and early fifth centuries it was necessary to make a selection, since it would be impossible within the limits of such an essay as the following to quote everything that bears upon the question. I think, however, the most important passages dealing with the development of the doctrine have all been utilized and placed before the reader. Since the subject is here treated at first hand and in connected order, I have thought it best in most instances to give the actual text of the more important passages adduced as evidence, in order to facilitate the examination of the results arrived at. I may add that when this treatise was in the press Fr. Marian Morawski, S.J., began a series of articles on the Communion of Saints in the Polish "Przeglad Powszechny" (*Universal Review*). The first two articles appeared in the numbers for September and October 1899, while a German translation of the first article is to be found in the "Katholik" for November (II. pp. 385 *et seqq.*).

Considering how narrowly the subject is limited, and that the authorities quoted supply the inquiry with a simple arrangement, I did not think it necessary to add an index rerum.

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

By "Communion of Saints" we mean the supernatural spiritual union which includes all members of "the Kingdom of God," whether still alive on earth or already departed hence for that other state in which the souls of departed members of that kingdom continue their existence after death.

The basis of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints is to be found in what we are taught about the Kingdom of God, the Church, or as it is called in the Gospels, the Kingdom of Heaven. Its practical expression is found in the primitive ages, as well as at the present day, in intercession, mutual prayers for one another among those still living on earth, in prayer for the faithful departed, and in the invocation of departed members of God's kingdom, in order that they may intercede with God on behalf as well of the living as of the dead. It is this last practice which especially gives prominence to the veneration and invocation of the saints, *i.e.*, in the first place, the martyrs who were regarded as the saints *par excellence* in the early Christian ages. Speaking less strictly, the angels also belong to the Communion of Saints, since they are occupied in bringing the kingdom of God to perfection by the protection and help they bring to the faithful, with the view of aiding them to attain to their share in the benefits of that kingdom.

The kingdom of God, according to the teaching of our Saviour, includes not only those members of it who are alive on the earth, but those as well who have gone into the perfected kingdom of heaven. On Christ's return at the last judgment the just will shine as the sun in this kingdom.[1] The blessed of the Father go into the kingdom prepared for them.[2] The present and the future kingdoms of heaven are in a certain sense one and the same; Christ speaks of them without distinction. The faithful departed belong also to the kingdom of God.[3] In the writings of the apostles, the kingdom of God is frequently alluded to in terms which depict the life of believers here below as a participation in that of the heavenly kingdom, save only that their full and perfect participation therein is reserved for the world to come.

In this sense, St. Paul, for example, speaks of his

[1] St. Matt. xiii. 40-43. Sic erit in consummatione sæculi. Mittet filius hominis angelos suos, et colliget de *regno* ejus omnia scandala, et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem; et mittent eos in caminum ignis. Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Tunc *justi fulgebunt* sicut sol in *regno Patris* eorum.

[2] St. Matt. xxv. 34. Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis *regnum* a constitutione mundi.

[3] When our Lord returns He will bring with Him the departed members of His kingdom, who have therefore not lost their share in that kingdom. 1 Thess. iv. 13-15, Nolumus autem vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum, adducet cum eo. Hoc autem vobis dicimus in verbo Domini, quia nos qui vivimus, qui residui sumus in adventum Domini, non præveniemus eos qui dormierunt.

deliverance unto the heavenly kingdom,[1] and St. Peter exhorts the faithful to make their election sure by good works in order that an entrance may be ministered to them into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord.[2]

St. Paul in several places compares the "saints" united in the kingdom of God to a body, of which the members are individual believers, and whose head is Christ.[3] Since he speaks of Christ as the First-born among many brethren, and of the glory of the elect in the same connection, it is clear he regards all those whom Christ has redeemed, both the perfected and those striving after perfection, as members of the same body.[4] In the building of that spiritual temple of God which is made up of the faithful as "fellow-

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 18. Liberavit me Dominus ab omni opere malo; et salvum faciet in *regnum suum cæleste*, cui gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[2] 2 Pet. i. 10-11. Quapropter fratres magis satagite ut per bona opera certam vestram vocationem et electionem faciatis; haec enim facientes non peccabitis aliquando. Sic enim abundanter ministrabitur vobis introitus in *regnum æternum* Domini nostri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

[3] Rom. xii. 4-5. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent: ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra. 1 Cor. xii. 26-27. Et si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra: sive gloriatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra. Vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra de membro.

[4] Rom. viii. 29-30. Nam quos præscivit, et prædestinavit conformes fieri imaginis filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Quos autem prædestinavit, hos et vocavit; et quos vocavit, hos et justificavit; quos autem justificavit, illos et glorificavit.

citizens of the saints," the prophets as well as the apostles find their place; they belong in common to the one "holy temple in the Lord."[1]

This union of the faithful—"the saints" in the primitive sense of the word—in one and the same body of Christ, in one and the same temple of God, brings them into spiritual relations with one another, which in turn find expression (for example) in the prayers which the apostle of the Gentiles addressed to God on behalf of the members of the Churches he had founded, and also in the petitions by which the Christians commended the apostle's labours to God. In many passages of St. Paul's epistles we find allusions to these mutual intercessions. To the congregations in Rome, Philippi, Thessalonica and Colossa, St. Paul writes that he remembers them in his prayers, while he assures the Colossians of the solicitude Epaphras has for them, a solicitude which finds vent in prayers on their behalf.[2]

The apostle moreover asks the Christians of these and other congregations he had founded to pray for him, and attributes the success of his undertakings to the prayers which they had addressed to God for him. Thus, among the exhortations addressed to

[1] Ephes. ii. 19-22. Ergo jam non estis hospites et advenæ, sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici Dei, superædificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu: In quo omnis ædificatio conctructa crescit in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu.

[2] Rom. i. 9-10. Testis enim mihi est Deus, cui servio in spiritu meo in evangelio Filii ejus, quod sine intermissione memoriam vestri facio semper in orationibus meis. *Cf.* Phil. i. 3-5; Col. i. 9; *ib.* iv. 12; Rom. x. 1; 2 Thess. i. 11.

the Ephesians, we find the request to pray for "all the saints."[1]

The Epistle of St. James also exhorts all the faithful to pray for one another.[2] Such mutual intercessions are moreover in full accord with the teaching of our Saviour Himself, for when our Blessed Lord enjoins us to pray for our enemies it is plain, as we see from the parallel passage in St. Matthew,[3] that to pray for anyone is to confer a benefit upon him, and hence it follows that the members of the kingdom of God, before everything else, discharge this labour of love to one another. The prayer of intercession for others is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament as well. The prophets especially occupied a mediatorial position between God and the chosen people,

[1] Rom. xv. 30-32 : Obsecro ergo vos, fratres, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et per caritatem sancti Spiritus, ut adjuvetis me in orationibus vestris pro me ad Deum, ut liberer ab infidelibus, qui sunt in Judæa, et obsequii mei oblatio accepta fiat in Jerusalem sanctis, ut veniam ad vos in gaudio per voluntatem Dei et refrigerer vobiscum. *Cf.* 2 Cor. i. 9-11 ; Phil. i. 19 ; Col. iv. 2-3 ; 1 Thess. v. 25 ; 2 Thess. iii. 1. Eph. vi. 17-19: Et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei ; per omnem orationem et obsecrationem orantes omni tempore spiritu, et in ipso vigilantes in omni instantia et obsecratione pro omnibus sanctis, et pro me, ut detur mihi sermo in apertione oris mei cum fiducia, notum facere mysterium evangelii. *Cf.* Heb. xiii. 18.

[2] St. James v. 16 : Confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra, et *orate pro invicem* ut salvemini : multum enim valet deprecatio justi assidua.

[3] St. Matt. v. 44-45 : Ego autem dico vobis : Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his qui oderunt vos, et orate pro persequentibus et calumnientibus vos : ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui in cœlis est. *Cf.* St. Luke vi. 28.

on account of the prayers which they offered for them to Jehovah when occasion called for it.[1]

In the apostolic period, common prayers were from the first offered up at the eucharistic celebration in the Christian congregations "for all men, for kings and for all that are in high station"; a practice which more than anything else throws light upon the conception which Christians of the first age had formed of intercessory prayer.[2]

According to the representations of St. John's Apocalypse, the souls of the saints who had been slain for their faith pray to God even after death. The seër beheld under the altar in heaven the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and they cried with a loud voice to the Lord to ask why He did not judge and revenge their blood on them that dwell on the earth.[3] In another passage, the writer represents "the ancients" and the angels in heaven offering to God the prayers of "the saints," *i.e.*, the faithful.[4] In these passages we have the idea presented to us that the blessed spirits who serve God in glory are not unmindful of those members

[1] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Jer. xlii. 2; Baruch i. 13; 2 Mach. i. 6.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 1-4: Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus: Pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et castitate. Hoc enim bonum est et acceptum coram Salvatore nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. There can be no doubt that what is meant here is the common prayer of the congregation. *Cf.* PROBST, *Liturgie der drei ersten christl. Jahrh.*, p. 24.

[3] Apoc. vi. 9-10.

[4] Apoc. v. 8; viii. 3-4.

of the kingdom of God who are on earth, but present their prayers as an offering before God on the heavenly altar. The possibility of a participation in the affairs of the faithful on earth on the part of the heavenly spirits underlies the apocalyptic representation.[1]

It goes without saying that according to the conception of St. Paul and of the believers in apostolic times, the intercessions of Christians for one another were not useless and ineffectual. How else would it have entered into their minds to pray for one another at all? They must have been convinced of this, that by such intercessions they were able to obtain the divine assistance for others, in the same way as they could obtain it for themselves through their own prayers.

This conception of the apostle and of the churches he had founded, taken in conjunction with the idea of the intimate union existing between all members of the kingdom of God, and taken along with the representation of the Church as the one body of which each individual is a member, forms the basis of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. This doctrine without doubt formed part of the apostolic preaching. Add to this, the references to the relation between "the saints" on earth and the spirits who are occupied in the service of God, and we have the elements out of which has been developed the

[1] There may be a reference in this connection to the words of our Lord in St. Matt. xviii. 10: Videte ne condemnatis unum ex his pusillis: dico enim vobis, quia angeli eorum semper vident faciem Patris mei, qui in cœlis est.

whole teaching concerning (1) the intercourse enjoyed by the faithful here below among themselves; (2) between the faithful on earth and the souls of the just who have passed into the world to come; and (3) between them and the angels.

PART I.

The Evidence for the Doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the First Age of the Church (until about 180 A.D.).

Expectations of the near approach of the end of the world were prominent and widespread among Christians in the sub-apostolic period, as indeed they had been during the lifetime of the apostles themselves. The near return of Christ to complete His kingdom on earth was the object of earnest desire. In this kingdom all were to have a share in the perfect redemption who had shown themselves worthy thereof by a faithful fulfilment of the Lord's commands—both the departed and those still living on the earth.[1] Expectations of this nature cannot have been without considerable influence upon the conceptions formed of the relation between the faithful on earth to one another and to the faithful departed, and also to the Old Testament saints (the patriarchs and prophets) who have their special place too in the economy of redemption, as well as to the departed apostles and their immediate disciples. The inter-

[1] *Cf.* in particular Atzberger, *Geschichte der christl. Eschatologie innerhalb der vornicänischen Zeit;* Freiburg, 1896, introduction (p. 1 *et seqq.*) and chap i. (p. 40 *et seqq.*).

communion of all the members of Christ's mystical body received a special character from the circumstance that Christ's second advent, by which that body was to be brought to perfection, was regarded as imminent.[1] As the organisation of the Christian communities gradually took definite shape, and the liturgy with its common prayers developed, so too did the hope that the faithful departed still remain active living members of the kingdom of God become stronger, with the result that the vital connection of all members of the kingdom of God to one another found ever clearer expression. As the conception of a speedy return of Christ to judgment gradually receded into the background, the distinction became more prominent between God's earthly kingdom (*i.e.*, the body of all true believers on earth) and the heavenly kingdom, where Christ reigns as the risen and glorified God-Man. To the latter belong the faithful departed, though all do not share in it to the same degree, and as to the manner in which they shared in it, different views were developed by different Christian teachers. Nevertheless, we everywhere find the conviction of a vital intercommunion between all the faithful, both living and departed, and of their special relations to the holy spirits of God. It is this conviction which forms the foundation upon which was developed the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, which, it is important to

[1] Nothing was revealed concerning the precise date of the second advent; it was to remain hidden from mankind just as the hour of death was to be hidden from each individual. *Cf.* St. Matt. xxiv. 36; 1 Thess. v. 2; St. Mark xiii. 35.

remark, found from the beginning practical expression in the Christian life.[1]

[1] It is scarcely necessary to point out that, as ATZBERGER (*op. cit.* p. 85 note) shows, the character of the writings belonging to the period under review does not lead us to look for a more detailed discussion of these questions. The evidence available for the ideas of the period is limited to a few expressions of contemporary writers and a few statements in inscriptions and acts of martyrs belonging to the second century. However, the existence of the essential idea of the Communion of Saints is thereby proved beyond all reasonable doubt.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTERCESSIONS OF THE FAITHFUL FOR ONE ANOTHER.

THE vital intercommunion in religious matters between individual believers, and one Christian community with another, finds outward expression in those mutual intercessions which, both in the apostolic period and at the present day, they offer up for each other to God and to Christ. An additional proof of the firm conviction that intercession obtained assistance for others from God is to be found in the fact that such prayers were offered up even for those who were not Christians. So strongly were the faithful convinced that it was their duty, as the chosen people of God, to pray to Him for the welfare of the whole world, that they prayed even for those who had charge of the temporal well-being of the State, and indeed for all men indiscriminately. Since they were confident of obtaining benefits by their prayers for such as these, they must have had a still deeper conviction that their prayers could obtain God's grace and assistance for those who were their brothers in the faith.

Frequent allusions to intercessory prayer are found in the first epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians and in the epistles of St. Ignatius. St. Clement of Rome exhorts the Christians of Corinth to pray for sinners that they may be humble and self-controlled,

and so submit to the divine will. An example is quoted from the Old Testament, namely, Esther, who prayed to God in fasting and humiliation: God had regard to the humility of her soul and delivered the people for whose sake she had exposed herself to danger.[1] With this example before them Christians could pray for those in sin, "for so shall the compassionate remembrance of them with God and the Saints be fruitful unto them and perfect."[2]

This reference to the example in the Old Testament is important. Owing to the position given to the Jewish sacred books by their use in primitive Christian communities, such religious practices as found a parallel in these writings took root all the more easily among the Christian people. St. Clement here lays stress upon the fact that if the disturbers of the peace submit to the will of God the intercessions offered up will avail for them. We may also point out that the substantive *μνεία* and the corresponding verb *μεμνῆσθαι* are employed with reference to intercession in the earliest times. Even in St. Clement's time they must have had this special signification, since he uses them without any further explanation. There is some difficulty in arriving at the exact meaning conveyed by "the saints" who are placed in such close connection with God. The reference may be to the just of the Old Testament, seeing Clement has just

[1] 1 CLEMENTIS *ad Corinthios*, lv. 6 (ed. Funk, p. 129 *sq.*).

[2] *Ib.* lvi. 1. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐντύχωμεν περὶ τῶν ἔν τινι παραπτώματι ὑπαρχόντων, ὅπως δοθῇ αὐτοῖς ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη εἰς τὸ ἑἶξαι αὐτοὺς μὴ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ; οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ἔγκαρπος καὶ τελεία ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους μετ' οἰκτιρμῶν μνεία.

appealed to the example of Esther. However, the use of the term "saints" in early Christian literature to denote the faithful belonging to the communion of the Church leaves no doubt that it denotes them in this passage. The most probable opinion is that the words refer to the common prayers of the congregation which were offered up at their liturgical gatherings for such as had erred from the faith.[1]

The Christians of the Roman Church go on to speak of the ceaseless prayers and supplications addressed to God that the Creator of the universe may guard intact unto the end the number that hath been numbered of His elect through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ.[2] Then follows that magnificent prayer which, as Duchesne rightly says,[3] is a fine specimen of the solemn prayer uttered by the ecclesiastical president at a liturgical reunion. In it we find intercessions for all the faithful who are in tribulation, for the "wanderers" of God's people that they may turn from their evil ways,[4] for the peace and concord of Christians and all who dwell on the earth. This practice of remembering the brethren and offering up special intercessions for them in the solemn prayers at the eucharistic

[1] *Cf.* LIGHTFOOT'S note to the passage. *Apostolic Fathers*, Pt. I., Vol. II., p. 163.

[2] 1 *Clem. ad Cor.* lix. 2. Ed. FUNK, p. 134.

[3] DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte Chretien*, 2nd ed. p. 49.

[4] This intercession for sinners in the solemn prayer of St. Clement's epistle is the best explanation of the exhortation to prayer in chap. lvi. already mentioned. The common prayer in the eucharistic assembly is the "memorial before God and the saints."

assembly deepened the sense of the efficacy of these prayers, and moved the faithful individually to do the same for one another. The liturgical usages in general, which owed their origin to the teaching and practice of the apostles, exercised an ever active influence on the belief of Christians and on those practices of the Christian life which sprang from these beliefs. The liturgy was in many ways the guardian of apostolic tradition. This is undoubtedly the case with regard to the intercessions of Christian communities for their own members and for all the faithful in general.

Intercession occupies an important place in the epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch, being referred to in one connection or another in each of them. In some passages, the saint begs for the prayers of those to whom he writes, for himself that he may be partaker of martyrdom, that he may rise again in his bonds, that he may attain unto God, that he may be found to be a true disciple of Christ, and that he may be justified through Christ's death and resurrection.[1] On another occasion he exhorts the churches to which he writes to pray for the Church in Antioch and Syria,[2] or for the heretics that they may be converted,[3] or more especially for all men.[4] Again, he speaks with gratitude of the effect obtained by the intercessions of the faithful for the restoration

[1] *Ad Ephesios*, xi. 2 ; xx. 1 ; *ad Magnesios*, xiv. ; *ad Trallianos*, xii. 3 ; *ad Romanos*, iii. 3 ; iv. 2 ; viii. 3 ; *ad Philadelphenses*, v. 1 ; viii. 2 ; *ad Smyrnæos*, xi. 3.

[2] *Ad Ephes.*, xxi. 2 ; *ad Magn.*, xiv. ; *ad Trall.*, xiii. 1 ; *ad Rom.*, ix. 1.

[3] *Ad Smyrn.*, iv. 1 ; *ad Ephes.*, x. 2.

[4] *Ad Ephes.*, x. 1.

of peace in Antioch.[1] St. Polycarp enjoins upon the Christians of Philippi to pray for all "saints," for kings, rulers and princes, for those who hate and persecute the Christians, for the enemies of the Cross.[2] The reference is plainly to the common prayers which were uttered at the eucharistic celebration.

The third prayer of the *Διδαχὴ* is for the Church of the Lord in general (the term *μνήσθητι* being again employed to denote intercession), that she may be delivered from all evil, and perfected in His love.[3] Of special importance is the exhortation inserted into the "Way of Life" in the same document not merely to pray for enemies according to the sayings of our Lord, but to fast for those who persecute the faithful.[4] It follows from this that an intercessory character was attributed not only to prayers but to other good works as well; that the divine assistance could also be obtained for those for whom one performed works of mortification. This idea helps to explain the fact that martyrdom—the highest expression of love to God and the work most well-pleasing to the Lord—was regarded as having an intercessory character in God's sight. We shall return to this point later on.

The exhortation at the end of the epistle of Barnabas begging the readers to be mindful of the writer in order that his desire and watchfulness may

[1] *Ad Philad.*, x. 1; *ad Smyrn.*, xi. 1, 3; *ad Polycarpum*, vii. 1.

[2] *Ad Philipp.*, xii.

[3] *Doctrina XII. Apostolorum* x. 5: Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου.

[4] *Ib.* i. 3: Νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

be successful is also to be taken as a request for intercession.[1]

Justin Martyr in his first apology states that the prayers offered up at the Eucharist following on the administration of baptism include the faithful actually present, the newly baptised, and all mankind.[2]

The prayers and fasts practised by the faithful along with the catechumens, by which the former in conjunction with the latter implore from God forgiveness for past sins, are avowedly intercessory in character.[3] In this passage we again meet with the intercessory virtue of mortifications, which we touched upon above.

Thus the intercessions of the faithful for one another and for all mankind, in conjunction with fasting undertaken also for the sake of others, have been practised by Christians from the apostolic period. This rests upon the teaching and practice of the apostles and of our Lord Himself, and is immediately connected with the firm conviction expressed in the books of the Old Testament that the prayer of the just has great power with God. This conviction of the primitive Church forms the starting point for the fuller development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints and for the practices to which it gave rise in the religious life of believers.

[1] BARNABÆ, *Epist.* xxi. 6: *Εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν ἀγαθοῦ μνεία, μνημονεύετέ μου μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἴς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ.*

[2] JUSTIN, *Apologia*, I. 65 (ed. Otto, I., i. p. 176): *Ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως.* *Cf. Apol. I.*, 15, 17; *Dialog. cum Tryphone*, 35.

[3] *Apol.*, I. 61 (*ib.* p. 164).

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATION OF THE ELECT IN HEAVEN TO THE FAITHFUL ON EARTH.

THE departed "saints" even after death remained true members of the Kingdom of God. We have seen how, according to St. Paul's teaching, they will return with Christ at the second advent for the completion of the kingdom of heaven. Numerous passages in early Christian writings prove that the justified souls in the world to come are in a state of blessedness prepared for them by God; stand in a special relation to God and Christ; and are partakers of the final election, and this irrespective of whether their condition is represented as one of transition, which is to come to an end at the second advent, or as final and exempt from all further change in essentials. This is not the place for a full treatment of these points of eschatology.[1] Having shown in the first chapter in what spiritual relations the faithful on earth stand to one another, our business is now to examine in what light the communion of the faithful with departed members of the Kingdom of God was regarded in the sub-apostolic age. It is to

[1] We can set these questions aside all the more easily as they are excellently dealt with at great length by ATZBERGER, *Geschichte der christl. Eschatologie in der vornicänischen Zeit. Cf.* especially pp. 72-92. His conclusions are here taken for granted.

be noted in this connection that certain among the elect were regarded as being in a special sense perfect servants and imitators of our Lord, and as such were held up before the faithful as the perfect members of Christ's Kingdom.

1. Amongst those who enjoy special honour in the Kingdom of God, we find the apostles hold the foremost rank. In his epistle to the Corinthians, St. Clement says that the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, after having suffered martyrdom, went to the appointed place of glory, attained to the holy place.[1] St. Polycarp holds up before the eyes of the Philippians the example of Paul and the other apostles, along with some local saints who had finished their course.[2] The apostles and their first disciples and fellow-helpers in spreading the Kingdom of God occupy a special position in the building of the tower in Hermas. The square white stones which fit exactly into each other are the apostles, bishops, teachers and deacons who have lived in godly purity and have exercised their office chastely and reverently to the advantage of the elect of God.[3] In the same way the angel of repentance, in the ninth Similitude, explains to Hermas the meaning of the stones which were taken out of the pit and fitted into the building; "The first ten which were placed as a foundation are the first generation, and the twenty-five the second generation of just men; and

[1] 1 *Clem ad. Corinthios*, v. 4: Πέτρον, ὃς . . . μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 7: [Παῦλος] μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη.

[2] POLYCARPI, *ep. ad Philipp.* ix.; see below.

[3] HERMAS, *Pastor*, *Visio*, iii. 5.

the thirty-five are the prophets of God and His ministers; and the forty are the apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God."[1] In succession to the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, the apostles followed as the divinely laid foundation of the Church. With regard to the activity of the apostles and teachers, even after death, we have a characteristic touch in the view developed by Hermas in the section which follows. The apostles and teachers, represented by the forty stones, after falling asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached to the departed saints of the Old Testament and gave them the seal of the preaching. By their means the Old Testament worthies were quickened and made to know the name of the Son of God, and along with them built into the tower.[2] That the souls of the departed apostles and ancient teachers are still able in the future state to labour in one way or another for the Kingdom of God, lies at the heart of this conception of Hermas. There is, however, no indication of any activity exercised by them on behalf of the faithful still living on earth.

2. In the passages already quoted from the epistle to the Corinthians, St. Clement lays stress on the fact

[1] *Ib. Similitudo*, ix. 5.

[2] *Pastor*, *Simil.* ix. 16: Διατί, φημί, κύριε, καὶ οἱ μ' λίθοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ, ἤδη ἐσχηκότες τὴν σφραγῖδα; Ὅτι, φησίν, οὗτοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρυξάντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καὶ πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. Κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν. . . . Διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐζωοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνῳκοδομήθησαν.

that the apostles Peter and Paul departed from this world by martyrdom, and so have arrived at the place of glory. In early Christian writings it is always the martyrs, who, by undergoing a violent death for the confession of the true faith, and thus resembling our Lord in their death, who are represented as the most conspicuous members of God's Kingdom. Martyrdom opens the way infallibly to God and His Heavenly Kingdom. "It is good," writes St. Ignatius to the Romans (ii. 2), "to set from the world unto God that I may rise unto Him." Therefore he begs the Roman Christians not to hinder him from becoming a sacrifice to God while there is still an altar ready. And again (iv.), "I exhort you, be ye not an unseasonable kindness to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread of Christ." No less strongly does he express himself to the Christians of Ephesus, who are a halting place for those who by martyrdom are on their way to God.[1] St. Polycarp calls those who are in bonds for Christ copies of the true love, their bonds are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and Christ.[2] Martyrdom is the surest sign of election. Polycarp

[1] IGNATIUS, *ad Ephes.* xii. 2: Παροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων. Παύλου συμμύσται, τοῦ ἡγιασμένου, τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου, ἀξιομακαρίστου, οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὑρεθῆναι, ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

[2] POLYCARPUS, *ad Philipp.* i. 1: Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημμένους τοῖς ἁγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων.

holds up the martyrs along with the apostles before the faithful of Philippi as their example because they have gone to the Lord by the right way. "We are persuaded," he writes, "that all these ran not in vain, but in faith and justice, and that they are in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered."[1] In the mystic towers of Hermas' Visions, the stones taken out of the pit and exactly fitted to the other stones of the building are the martyrs; they require no further preparation for the Heavenly Kingdom, and are at once added to the Old Testament saints, to the apostles and to their fellow-workers.[2] In the ninth Similitude the Pastor explains to Hermas that the stones employed in building the Church which came from the eleventh mountain, where are trees full of fruits, are they who suffered for the name of the Son of God. To the further question of Hermas, why the fruits are different, he replies that all who have suffered for the Lord's name are honourable before God; and of all these their sins were remitted, because they suffered for the name of the Son of God. The difference between the fruits is due to the fact that some endured torture and death freely and willingly, but others were cowardly and fearful.[3] Here we come

[1] *Ib.* ix. 2: Πεπεισμένους, ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον.

[2] *Pastor, Visio* III. 5: Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐλκόμενοι καὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ συμφωνοῦντες ταῖς ἁρμογαῖς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν ἑτέρων λίθων τῶν ἤδη ᾠκοδομημένων τίνες εἰσίν; οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παθόντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου.

[3] *Similitudo* ix. 28: Ἄκουε, φησίν· ὅσοι ποτὲ ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα,

across a new element in the idea of martyrdom—its power to atone for sin. This is stated without qualification; all the faithful who confess Christ by death are thereby completely purified from all the sins they have committed during their life, and attain unto the Lord. They are on this account honourable before God, or, as Hermas states in another passage, the place on the right "among the saints" is appointed to them in heaven, while that on the left side belongs to the rest. "Both for those who sit on the right and those who sit on the left there are the same gifts and promises; only those sit on the right and have a certain glory."[1] Further light on the primitive Christian conception of martyrdom is thrown by Justin Martyr. In his dialogue with the Jew Trypho he lays stress on the fact that Christians rejoice when they are put to death, for they have not the least doubt that God, through His Christ, will awaken them again to life, and will make them incorruptible, impassible and immortal.[2] In his Apology he declares that Christians are ashamed to deny their faith,

ἔνδοξοί εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πάντων τούτων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἀφῃρέθησαν, ὅτι ἔπαθον διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[1] *Pastor*, *Visio* III. 1, 2 (FUNK, *Patr. Ap.* I., 354): Ὁ εἰς τὰ δεξία μέρη τόπος ἄλλων ἐστίν, τῶν ἤδη εὐηρεστηκότων τῷ θεῷ καὶ παθόντων εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος· σοὶ δὲ πολλὰ λείπει, ἵνα μετ' αὐτῶν καθίσῃς· ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐμμένεις τῇ ἁπλότητί σου, μᾶλλον, καὶ καθιῇ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν ἐργάσωνται τὰ ἐκείνων ἔργα καὶ ὑπενέγκωσιν ἃ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπήνεγκαν. Τί, φημί, ὑπήνεγκαν; Ἄκουε, φησιν· μάστιγας, φυλακὰς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυροὺς, θηρία ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκείνων ἐστὶν τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ ἁγιάσματος καὶ ὅς ἐὰν πάθῃ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὰ ἀριστερά μέρη ἐστίν. Ἀλλὰ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τῶν [ἐξ] ἀριστερῶν καθημένων, τὰ αὐτὰ δῶρα καὶ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐπαγγελίαι· μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν κάθηνται καὶ ἔχουσιν δόξαν τινά.

[2] *Dial. cum Tryphone*, 46 (ed. OTTO I. 1, p. 156).

although by so doing they might save their lives, for their whole aim and object is to attain to the eternal and pure life, and to the abode in company of God the Father and Creator of all; therefore the Christians hasten to confess their faith, persuaded and convinced that this blessedness is really to be obtained by those who have proved to God by their works that they cleave to Him and love that abode with Him where there is no evil.[1] The martyr Lucius gave expression to the same thought when condemned to death by Urbicus, for when he was brought before the judgment seat he openly stated that he professed his thanks for his condemnation, knowing that he was delivered from such wicked rulers, and was going to the Father and King of Heaven.[2]

Melito of Sardis also bears witness to the belief of the primitive Christians that sins were taken away by martyrdom, even as by baptism.[3] The same thought probably underlies the passage in the letter of the Church of Smyrna on Polycarp's martyrdom,

[1] *Apologia* I., 8 (ed. OTTO, I. i., p. 26): Τοῦ γὰρ αἰωνίου καὶ καθαροῦ βίου ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς μετὰ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρὸς καὶ δημιουργοῦ διαγωγῆς ἀντιποιούμεθα, καὶ σπένδομεν ἐπὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν, οἱ πεπεισμένοι καὶ πιστεύοντες τυχεῖν τούτων δύνασθαι τοὺς τὸν θεὸν δι' ἔργων πείσαντας ὅτι αὐτῷ εἴποντο καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ διαγωγῆς ἤρων, ἐνθα κακία οὐκ ἀντιτυπεῖ.

[2] *Apol.* II., 2 (*ed. cit.* I., i., p. 202): Ὁ δὲ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει, πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι γινώσκων καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν πορεύεσθαι. *Cf.* Apol. II., i., where it is said that the virtuous and those who lived like Christ shall be with God in a state that is free from suffering. *Acta mart. S. Justini*, 5 (ed. OTTO, II., p. 276); *Martyrium S. Polycarpi*, 2 (ed. FUNK, *Patr. Apost.* i., 284).

[3] MELITO, *Fragm.* (ed. OTTO, *Corp. Apol.* ix. p. 418): Δύο γὰρ συνέστη τὰ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων παρεχόμενα, πάθος διὰ Χριστὸν καὶ βάπτισμα.

where it is said that the martyrs despised the torments of the world, and by one hour's suffering redeemed themselves from eternal punishment. These words, in conjunction with what follows, imply that Christians who denied the faith, when condemned to death, incurred eternal punishment. The letter goes on to say that the good things laid up for such as endure were revealed to the martyrs in their bodily sufferings, inasmuch as they were no longer men, but had already become angels.[1] Of St. Polycarp himself it is said he had acquired the crown of immortality, and now, with the apostles and all the just, rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.[2] By their glorious martyrdom, the confessors prevailed over the devil who had invented the sufferings for them;[3] and therefore the evil one, the adversary of mankind, is filled with envy and hatred when he sees the martyrs crowned with the wreath of immortality.[4]

Accordingly, in the opinion of the primitive Christians, the martyrs were perfect Christians and imitators of the Lord; they prevailed not merely over earthly rulers but over the devil who fought against them; they effaced all their sins by dying for Christ, and attained unto God in perfect purity, where they shared in the eternal glory in a special degree; they were the elect friends of Christ, were

[1] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 2 (ed. FUNK, *Patr. apost.* I., p. 284).

[2] *Ib.* 19 (*ed. cit.* p. 304).

[3] *Ib.* 3 (*ed. cit.* p. 286): Πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὐκ ἴσχυεν. *Cf.* Justinus, Apol. I., 57.

[4] *Ib.* 17 (*ed. cit.*, p. 300).

numbered among the apostles and the just; they scarcely ranked any longer as men but as angels. By their martyrdom they obtained the greatest merit before God. That the martyrs obtained divine grace for others by means of their sufferings is quite in harmony with the conception of intercessory prayer for others already dealt with in the first chapter. This meaning underlies a passage in the letter of St. Ignatius to the Ephesians, where he writes that he offers himself as a sacrifice for the Church of Ephesus.[1] In a similar strain he writes to Polycarp that in all things he is a substitute for Polycarp—he and his bonds which Polycarp loved.[2]

Owing to the great value placed upon martyrdom, the martyrs were the object of the greatest reverence from the faithful, both during their life and after their death. Their memory was cherished by the community to which they had belonged, and even spread beyond its limits; as glorious and crowned conquerors over the enemies of salvation, they lived in the remembrance of the faithful.[3] This is clear from the manner in which they are spoken of in the passages referred to above. Christians regarded it as a great honour and joy to gain admittance to the confessors in prison and to act as an escort to

[1] IGNATIUS, *ad Ephes.* viii. (ed. LIGHTFOOT II. p. 50): *Περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς ἀιῶσιν.*

[2] IGN. *ad Polyc.* II. 3 (ed. FUNK, *Patr. apol.* I. p. 248): *Κατὰ πάντα σοs ἀντίψυχοῦ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἠγάπησας.* For *ἀντίψυχος*, *cf.* Lightfoot's note to Ephes. xxi., Apostolic Fathers, Part II., ii. p. 87.

[3] *Cf. Martyr. Polycarpi*, II.

them.[1] They were held up to the imitation of Christians as examples of virtue, as when St. Polycarp exhorts the Christians of Philippi to yield obedience to the word of justice, and to exercise all patience as they have seen set before their eyes, not only in the case of the blessed Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus, but also in others among themselves, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles.[2] Above all, martyrdom was naturally a stimulating example to other Christians when they found themselves called upon to choose between death and rejection of Christianity, which nerved them to imitate unhesitatingly the heroic example of the martyrs.[3] We have a good illustration of primitive Christian ideas on this point in what the Christians of Smyrna say with regard to the reasons alleged in mockery for the burning of Polycarp's body—*i.e.*, that they might forsake the Crucified and worship Polycarp: "The heathen and the Jews are ignorant of this, that it is neither possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of such as shall be saved throughout the whole world, nor to worship any other. For Him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore; but the martyrs we worthily love as disciples and imitators of the Lord, on account of their extraordinary veneration for their own Lord and King."[4] These words admirably express the

[1] POLYCARP, *ad Philipp.* l. 1 (ed. FUNK, I. p. 266).

[2] *Ib.*, ix. (*ed. cit.* p. 274).

[3] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, c. xix. (ed. FUNK, p. 304). CLEMENTIS, *Ep. I. ad Cor.*, vi. 1.

[4] *Mart. Polyc.* xvii. 3 (*ed. cit.* p. 302): Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ (scil.

ideas current in the sub-apostolic period regarding the value of martyrdom and the relation between the martyrs and the faithful on earth.

The glorious memory which the martyrs left behind them among the faithful led to this result, that when the custom arose of solemnly commemorating the departed members of the community on the annual recurrence of the day of their death, the "birthday," as it was called, of the more celebrated martyrs was celebrated in a special manner, with joyful remembrance of their glorious victory over the enemies of salvation and of the Church. The earliest mention of this custom is to be found in the account of St. Polycarp's martyrdom. In the same connection, the Christians of Smyrna attach the highest value to the bodily remains of the martyr. After the burning of his body, the Christians succeeded in obtaining possession of some parts which had not been consumed, "to them more valuable than precious stones and more purified than gold," and buried them in a suitable place. They then expressed the hope that the Lord will permit them to assemble there with joy and gladness, as far as may be, to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already fought the good fight and in preparation of those about to enter into the strife.[1] From this quotation it is clear

τὸν Χριστόν) υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον.

[1] *Mart. Polyc.* xviii. 2-3 (ed. FUNK, p. 302): Οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ

that it was not the memory of Polycarp alone which was celebrated in this special manner, but the commemoration included the memorial of the other martyrs as well. The passage is introduced in such a way as to show plainly that it was no new thing hitherto unknown in Christian communities to which the Smyrnæans alluded. The practice was already observed in Smyrna, and certainly elsewhere, during the lifetime of St. Polycarp, the disciple of the apostles and "the illustrious teacher" of the Christians.[1] It had its grounds in views which were widespread among Christian communities, and owed their origin to the activity of those who were the disciples of the apostles and taught according to their spirit. It is, moreover, highly probable that a commemoration of this kind was not restricted to the memory of the martyrs, for we find Tertullian bearing witness a few decades later to the practice of holding a special commemoration for the faithful departed on the day of their death. In all probability this was also the case in Asia Minor in the time of Polycarp. The festival of the "dies natalis" of the martyrs was originally the same as those held in memory of the other departed; in two respects

χρυσίον ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα, ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. Ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις, ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἴς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν. With Funk, I see no grounds for doubting the authenticity of this passage. The expressions used correspond perfectly with the view of the primitive Christians respecting the honour paid to Christian martyrdom, which we have described above.

[1] *Ib.* xix. (*ed. cit.* p. 302-304).

alone did a special signification attach to it. First, it was observed by a larger, if not universal, attendance of the members of the community, who were probably joined by members of the neighbouring communities. Secondly, the festival was characterised by the "joy and gladness" with which it was observed by the faithful in commemoration of the heroic warriors whose memory they cherished as perfect imitators and disciples of the Lord. The prayers offered up, the passages read, and the exhortations of the presiding ecclesiastic, all doubtless bore upon this point, with the result that the liturgical celebration still further promoted reverence for the martyrs and helped to impress their importance upon the people.

We have now before us all the scattered notices which help us to form for ourselves an idea of the way in which the martyrs were honoured in the earliest Christian ages. We find no evidence for the direct invocation of the martyrs in the literature belonging to this period. It is only in the literary remains of the following period that invocation appears. Still the earliest form of invocation, which regards the apostles and martyrs as the protectors and patrons of the faithful with Christ the Lord and Judge, has its roots in ideas prevalent in the earliest Christian times.

3. Along with the apostles and martyrs the saints and prophets of the Old Testament were considered by the primitive Christians to occupy a special place among the members of the Kingdom of God. It was owing to the union between God's revelation in

the Old Covenant and Christ the Messias that they ranked as just and perfect and as "saints" in the later sense of the word. Accordingly, in writings of the sub-apostolic period, they are held up before the faithful as examples of virtue which they ought especially to copy. It is well known how Clement in his letter to the Corinthians usually quotes the example of the saints of the Old Covenant in order to impress upon his readers the duty of putting into practice the virtues they exhibited in their lives.[1] But other primitive teachers refer also to the saints of the Old Testament in various connections. So Ignatius, writing to the Magnesians, says the divinely illuminated prophets lived according to Jesus Christ, and for this cause also they were persecuted, being inspired by His grace.[2] He also exhorts the Philadelphians to love the prophets, for they too pointed to the gospel in their preaching, set their hope on Christ and awaited Him; they were also redeemed by faith in Him, and in union with Him are worthy of all love and admiration as saints, having obtained the approval of Jesus and being numbered together in the gospel of one common hope.[3] The prophets in virtue of their mission as teachers, a mission confirmed by Christ Himself, have an authoritative position in God's kingdom which rendered them personally

[1] CLEM. I. *ad Cor.* ix. (Henoch and Noe as examples of faith and obedience); x. (Abraham, example of obedience); xi. (Lot, example of hospitality and piety); xii. (Rahab, example of the same virtues), &c.

[2] IGNAT. *ad Magnes.* viii.

[3] IGNAT. *ad Philad.* v.

objects of reverence to the faithful; they are elect witnesses for Christ and His gospel. Accordingly St. Justin speaks of them as blessed and just and beloved of God.[1] We have seen already how the apostles, according to Hermas (Simil. ix. 16), preached to those who were asleep, enabling them to receive the seal which entitled them to a place as stones in the building of the tower. This idea naturally admitted the Old Testament saints and prophets directly into the divine kingdom established by Christ; they became Christ's disciples in the strict sense of the word.

The faithful still living on earth felt that they were united with these great saints and holy personages in bonds of inner spiritual communion. All belonged to one and the same Body of Christ; all were fellow-members of the one kingdom of God. The prophets, the apostles and the martyrs ranked, indeed, as the chief and foremost members of the Lord's mystical Body—the prophets and apostles, because in a striking manner they had their part in the foundation of that kingdom; the martyrs, among whom were also the apostles, because they were perfect followers of the Lord. All were examples for the faithful to imitate in their lives.

[1] JUSTINUS, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, vii.: μακάριοι καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGELS AS GUARDIANS OF THE FAITHFUL.

THE existence of good and evil angels—the former, God's instruments in the governance of the world and in the execution of His decrees; the latter, the enemies of God and His kingdom—is clearly taught by our Lord and by the writings of the apostles. The mere acceptance of the existence of the world of spirits, and of the active share taken by the angels in the ordering of the world did not, however, long suffice, and soon men began to indulge in speculations on all that concerned the spirit-world. Even St. Ignatius refers to the subject when writing to the Trallians, while at the same time pointing out the difficulty of gaining a clear conception of these things. Am I not able, he says, to write to you of heavenly things? Certainly, but I fear lest I should cause you harm being babes, for you might not be able to take them in. For even I, because I am in bonds, am not able to understand heavenly things and the arrays of the angels, and the princely orders, things visible and things invisible.[1] However, all teachers of the second century were not equally reticent in this regard, for not only in Gnostic circles but even among orthodox writers of the period we find considerable attention given to speculations concerning the angels.

[1] IGNATIUS, *ad Trall.* v.

Moreover the apocalyptic literature and the book of Henoch with their representations of the spirit-world must have excited the Christian imagination concerning the influence of angels and demons in the ordering of the world and of mankind, and in this way these writings must have given rise to a special feeling of veneration for the angels founded upon the words of our Lord and the teaching of the apostles. We cannot here refer to all the passages bearing upon the doctrine concerning the angels, and for the purpose we have in view it is sufficient to examine the conception current in primitive times concerning the relation of the blessed spirits to the faithful.

Although, according to a view held by St. Ignatius and frequently appearing at a later date,[1] the good angels do not yet definitely share in the blessedness of heaven and may still be liable to the divine judgment, nevertheless those blessed spirits who have remained God's faithful servants have a special place in the heavenly kingdom and enjoy supernatural blessedness by the throne of God. By nature they are superior to men, and so the Christians of Smyrna, speaking of the martyrs of their Church, remark that the heavenly glory was revealed by the Lord to them in their sufferings, "because they were no longer men but had already become angels."[2] Hermas assigns to the bishops, who never failed to protect the widows and the needy, and always maintained a holy con-

[1] IGNATIUS *ad Symrn.* vi. 1: *Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κακεῖνος κρίσις ἐστίν.*

[2] Martyrium Polycarpi, II.

versation, a place among the angels, if they remained to the end serving God.[1]

Notwithstanding, all the angels are not directly employed in the service of God in heaven. A number of them are placed over the different classes of created things to protect and control them. Justin usually teaches that God having created the universe entrusted mankind and all things under heaven to the care of the angels whom He placed over them.[2] The angels proved false to some of the posts entrusted to them, were guilty of unchastity and so begat the demons. Athenagoras also speaks of the hosts of angels and servants of God whom the Creator has appointed through the Word to control the elements, the heavens, and the world.[3] God, indeed, still reserves to Himself the general superintendence of the universe, but controls each separate object by the ministry of angels.[4] This being so, God employs the angels to bring about the accomplishment of His designs regarding the members of His kingdom still on earth. Hermas is especially clear on this point. In the fifth

[1] PASTOR, *Similitudo* ix. 27. *Cf. Vision* II. 2 (ed. FUNK I. p. 340): Ἐμμείνατε οὖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ διψυχήσητε, ἵνα γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ πάροδος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων.

[2] JUSTINUS, *Apologia* II. 5 (ed. OTTO, I., i. pp. 208-210): Ὁ θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα εἰς αὔξησιν καρπῶν καὶ ὡρῶν μεταβολὰς κοσμήσας καὶ θεῖον τούτοις νόμον τάξας, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ δι' ἀνθρώπους φαίνεται πεποιηκώς, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρόνοιαν ἀγγέλοις, οὓς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔταξε, παρέδωκεν.

[3] ATHENAGORAS, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, x. (ed. OTTO, p. 48).

[4] *Ibid.* xxiv (*ed. cit.* p. 125 *et seqq.*). *Cf.* the *Epistola ad Diognetum*, vii.

Similitude he explains that the stakes surrounding God's vineyard are the holy angels of the Lord, who keep His people together.[1] He speaks of one class of stones used in building the tower described in the third Vision as being those who are young in faith and the faithful: they are admonished by the angels to do good, for no iniquity has been found in them.[2] Hermas expressly teaches that each man has two angels, one good and one evil, and it is then briefly shown how the one is to be distinguished from the other, and the warning ends with an exhortation to trust in the good angel and withdraw oneself from the bad angel, because his instruction is bad in every deed.[3] This doctrine as far as it concerns the presence of a good angel, or guardian angel, attending on each believer, or even on every man, was quite in harmony with Holy Scripture, and we shall often find it referred to later on. The view that a special evil angel, the adversary of the guardian angel, seeks to entice men to sin, is not so common among the teachers of a later age: the most of them speak only of the evil in general which men have to encounter from the evil angels and demons. Once grant that God fulfils his purposes for the salvation of individual believers, and controls the universe through the ministry of angels, and it

[1] *Pastor*, *Similitudo* v. 5 (ed. FUNK, *P. ap.* I. p. 460).

[2] *Ibid.* *Visio* III. 5 (*ed. cit.* p. 362): Οἱ δὲ ἀγόμενοι καὶ τιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τίνες εἰσὶν; Νέοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοί. Νουθετοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διότι οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν αὐτοῖς πονηρία.

[3] *Ibid.* *Mandatum* vi. 2 (*ed. cit.* p. 406): Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. Δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας.

is natural to interpret literally the passage in the Apocalypse about the "angels of the churches" (chap II.), and to allot to each Christian community a special guardian angel. There can scarcely be any doubt that in the sub-apostolic period the passage was understood in this sense, although it was only at a later date that Origen definitely held it as part of his teaching. From this intermediate position of the angels between God and men, the practice soon followed of venerating the good angels, and probably of directly invoking them and praying to them. We have seen that during this period the martyrs and apostles, as far as we can learn from contemporary writings, were not invoked; they were perfect servants of Christ, and examples for the faithful, but it is only in the succeeding period that they appear as mediators between God or Christ and the faithful. However, the good angels, at least in some districts, seem to have been the object of special veneration as beings of a higher order, even in the period immediately after the apostles. The evidence of St. Justin on this point is too definite and far reaching for us to see in it anything else than the general practice of large numbers of the faithful. In repelling the reproach of atheism from the Christians, he states that while they certainly do not believe in the deities of the popular religion, they worship and adore both the true God and the Son, Who came forth from Him and taught the faithful these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to Him, and the prophetic Spirit, in reason and truth, and declaring without grudging to every

one who wishes to learn.[1] Without dwelling upon the difficulties raised by this passage with regard to speculations on the Trinity, we may deduct from it that the good angels were venerated among Christians as beings of a higher superhuman order. At the same time, perhaps, we may see in the position given to the angels between God and created beings the earliest indication of the idea which seeks for mediators between God and the faithful on earth, responsible to Him for individual Christians and especially occupied with their salvation. If this is so, then the view that the angels, as patrons and protectors of Christians, are to be especially venerated in order the better to ensure salvation is one which can be traced back very early in the sub-apostolic period.

[1] JUSTINUS, *Apol.* I, 6 (ed. OTTO, I., i. p. 20): . . . ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε (scil. ἀληθέστατον θεόν), καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. For explanation of the difficulties of the passage see Otto's notes, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER IV.

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

PRAYERS for the dead are not expressly mentioned among those intercessions spoken of at the beginning of this section, which Christians offered up for one another. The nature of the early writings from which we learn that living Christians prayed for one another is such as to afford no occasion for alluding to the departed. The case is very different with regard to the earliest inscriptions belonging to the first half of the second century in several of the Roman catacombs, especially in the cemetery of Priscilla: in them prayers for the dead have a prominent place.

Before describing these monuments, we must mention a passage in the Dialogue with Trypho where Justin speaks of the prayers which the faithful repeat at the moment of death that no evil demon may seize upon the soul. From the manner in which Justin refers to the prayer, it is evident that it was not the man at the point of death alone who prayed, but the brethren present united their prayers with those of the dying man. St. Justin mentions the words in Psalm xxi. 21, 22 as forming part of this prayer recited at the hour of death with the object of securing the soul from the attacks of evil spirits.[1] Another prayer of the same kind was that

[1] JUSTINUS, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, 105 (ed. OTTO, 1, 2, p. 376):

of our Lord on the Cross. "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," in which St. Justin sees an encouragement to the departing soul to pray for deliverance from all powers of evil.[1] It is quite in keeping with the ideas of the earliest Christian period to think that the rest of the faithful prayed for the dying man at the same time, and after death commended the departed soul to the divine grace that God, "who is able to drive away every evil angel who may assault the soul," might put forth His power under these circumstances on behalf of the soul of the departed. As we read the salutation "Pax tecum" in the oldest epitaph in the cemetery of Priscilla, we can scarcely doubt that this pious wish was addressed by the faithful to the departing or departed soul, and was of the nature of a prayer.[2]

Καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας καὶ στόματος λέοντος καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς αἰτεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν ψυχὴν σωθῆναι, ἵνα μηδεὶς κυριεύσῃ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ αἴτησις ἦν ἵνα, ἡνίκα ἡμεῖς πρὸς τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου γινόμεθα, τὰ αὐτὰ αἰτῶμεν τὸν θέον τὸν δυνάμενον ἀποστρέψαι πάντα ἀναιδῆ πονηρὸν ἄγγελον μὴ λαβέσθαι ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς.

[1] *Ibid.* (*ed. cit.* p. 378): "Οθεν καὶ ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ πάντως ἀγωνίζεσθαι δικαίους γίνεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐξόδῳ αἰτεῖν μὴ ὑπὸ τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν ὑποπεσεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε· Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου! ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον.

[2] *Cf.* KIRSCH, *Die Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristlichen Grabschriften* (Vereinsschrift der Görresgesellschaft), Cologne 1897. These addresses (Acclamationen) seem to me to have originated by the first Christians using the ordinary apostolic greeting, "Pax tecum: Pax tibi" on the epitaphs of the departed instead of "Vale," as words of farewell The use of these addresses on epitaphs is still better explained if this greeting was addressed to the soul at its departure, as we have suggested above. St. Ambrose shows that this was the case in the fourth century (De excessu fratris sui Satyri, I. 78, Migne,

The most important, as well as the earliest evidence for the practice of praying for the souls of the departed after death, *i.e.*, addressing actual intercessions to God on their behalf, is found in the four last lines of an epitaph from the catacomb of St. Priscilla, which is preserved to us in two copies. That it belongs to about the very time when St. Justin lived and taught in Rome is proved beyond doubt by De Rossi's chronological investigations on the earliest monuments belonging to this catacomb, and by Wilpert's disquisition on the date of the paintings of the so-called "Capella Greca" in the same catacomb.[1] According to the text of the epitaph of Agape, the four lines run as follows:—

Vos precor, o fratres, orare huc quando veni(tis)
Et precibus tolis patrem natumque rogatis,
Sit vestrae mentis Agapes carae[2] meminisse
Ut Deus omnipotens Agapen[3] in saecula servet.

It is plain from this important piece of evidence that about the middle of the second century the

P.L. xvi.): Sed quid ego te morer frater? . . . Nihil, inquam, moror, procedamus ad tumulum. Sed prius ultimum coram populo vale dico, *pacem prædico*, osculum solvo." The practice of addressing the departed with "Pax tecum" as well as "Vale" was certainly observed by the Christians from the beginning, and can be traced back well into the sub-apostolic period as the "acclamations" show.

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di archeol. crist.*, 1884-85, p. 71-76; 1886, p. 49-51; *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, II. pars 1, p. xxx. WILPERT, *Fractio panis*, p. 59-60. *Cf.* KIRSCH. *Die Acclamationen*, p. 50 *et seq.*

[2] In the other copy, the epitaph of Marcia, instead of "Agapes caræ" we have "sanctæ animæ."

[3] The other copy has the name "Marcia."

faithful of Rome were in the habit of reciting prayers in the cemeteries both publicly, in the course of the various liturgical assemblies of which we shall speak later, and privately, and made mention of the departed in these prayers that God would preserve their souls for ever. In this we find the perfect counterpart of the intercessions of the living for one another, and since the Christians felt certain their prayers really benefited those for whom they prayed and obtained God's assistance for them, so too, in their intercessions for the dead, the believers of the early Christian ages never doubted that their prayers for the departed souls were of use to them. We have nothing to show us what conceptions they had formed of the condition of these souls beyond the statement of Justin that the evil spirits gathered round the soul at the hour of death to seize upon it. However, although we have nothing more than this to show us how the primitive Christians thought their intercessions could avail for the dead, nevertheless there can be no doubt as to the fact that in the middle of the second century they did pray for them even for a considerable time after their death. It is consequently a practice which can be traced far back into the sub-apostolic period.

This is still further substantiated by some epitaphs belonging to the earliest class of inscriptions in the cemetery of Priscilla, containing brief prayers referring to the dead, which can only be understood as actual intercessions for their souls. Such is the conclusion of the epitaph of a certain Rhodin containing the angelic salutation to the Mother of God (St. Luke i.

28): Ὁ *κύριος μετὰ σοῦ*.[1] Another example is the unfortunately fragmentary formula which De Rossi completes; spiri(tus tuus) requiscat (in deo). . . .[2] From the end of the second century these formulæ of prayer became more common, and new ones were added to them. In itself this development in Christian practice points to the conclusion that the underlying belief has its origins in the sub-apostolic period.

How widespread the conviction was that the dead can be helped by the prayers of living "saints" appears from a passage in the very ancient *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*. They relate how Thecla was received into her house by a certain Tryphaina whose daughter Falconilla was dead. She appeared to her mother in a dream and besought her to adopt Thecla as a daughter in her stead in order that by her prayers she (Falconilla) might attain to the happiness of the just. Upon Tryphaina's request Thecla begged of God that He might grant eternal life to Falconilla according to her request.[3] The whole narrative assumes the belief that in some way or other the departed could be assisted by the intercessions of the faithful still living on earth, and that the prayers of those who had suffered for the faith possessed a special power with God.

Scanty though the evidence is, it is still abundantly clear that in the middle of the second century prayers

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di arch. crist.* 1892, p. 91 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 1886, p. 58, n. 50.

[3] *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 28-29 (ed. LIPSIUS, I. p. 225, *et seq.*): Thecla's prayer is as follows: Ὁ *θέος μου, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, δὸς αὐτῇ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτῆς, ἵνα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα ζήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

for the souls of deceased believers were no unknown thing in the Christian communities. We find, moreover, from the end of the second century, evidence of the existence of religious practices in particular districts which presuppose a long tradition in support of praying for departed Christians. For certain other practices, such as the invocation of the martyrs on behalf of the dead, or prayers addressed to the departed to obtain their intercession on behalf of the living, which became common among Christians in the course of the third century, there is no evidence in this period. They seem to belong to a further stage in the development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints.

PART II.

The Development of the Doctrine of the Communion of Saints until the Beginning of the Fourth Century.

In the period between the end of the second century to the beginning of the fourth, the doctrine of the Communion of Saints underwent a twofold development. On the one hand, we find more ample views relating to the connection between the faithful on earth and their departed brethren, and, as a consequence of this, new practices affecting the Christian life, especially increasing veneration and invocation of the martyrs; on the other hand, certain doctrinal points belonging to the subject are found here and there in the speculations of Christian teachers, without the question being seriously dealt with *ex professo*. The progress of the development is very uniform; the writings and monuments belonging to the different parts of the Roman empire all bear witness to one and the same belief throughout the Christian communities. It is within this period, too, that the doctrine as a whole arrived, in a certain sense, at a full stage of development, all essential points being dealt with during the period, while subsequent ages added scarcely anything of importance. This period is, therefore, of the greatest importance in the history of the development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints.

CHAPTER I.

THE MYSTICAL UNION OF THE FAITHFUL ON EARTH TO ONE ANOTHER.

THE belief that the faithful on earth, as fellow-members of the kingdom of God and members of the body of Christ, are united in bonds of deepest spiritual fellowship, finds the clearest expression in many passages of the writers of the period. It will be sufficient to quote here merely a few of the most important witnesses who throw light on this point. Tertullian in his De Pœnitentia endeavours to assure those who were ashamed to acknowledge their sins before the faithful, and, with this aim in view, lays stress on the fact that, in the Church, Christians have all things in common, and that the spiritual diseases of some infect the whole body. Nay, more, he sees in the believer, whose knees the notorious sinner embraces with tears, [an image of] Christ Himself, because the Church, the communion of all believers, is Christ.[1] Origen expresses himself in the same

[1] TERTULLIAN, *De pœnitentia*, x. (ed. Oehler, tom. I. p. 661): Plerosque tamen hoc opus, ut publicationem sui, aut suffugere aut de die in diem differre. Præsume, pudoris magis memores quam salutis; velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione conscientiam medentium vitant et itacum erubescentia sua pereunt. Intolerandum scilicet pudori domino offenso satisfacere, saluti prodactæ reformari . . . Certe periculum ejus tunc, si forte, onerosum est, cum penes insul-

way, when he draws the conclusion from the intimate union of believers with the body of Christ in the Church, that the believer who has stained his own soul with sin has wronged the whole Church.[1]

In virtue of this inner communion, each believer naturally participates in the spiritual weal and woe of the others, and this participation finds its chief outward expression in various kinds of intercessory prayer. We need not refer again to those common liturgical intercessions of which we have spoken in the first part, and which formed a permanent part of the Eucharistic celebration. Tertullian sees the duty of praying for others expressly enjoined in the petition of the Lord's prayer—"Hallowed be Thy Name"—

tatores in risiloquio consistit, ubi de alterius ruina alter attollitur, ubi prostrato superscenditur: ceterum inter fratres atque conservos, ubi communis spes, metus, gaudium, dolor, passio, quia communis spiritus de communi domino et patre, quid tu hos aliud quam te opinaris? Quid consortes casuum tuorum ut plausores fugis? Non potest corpus de unius membri vexatione laetum agere; condoleat universum et ad remedium conlaboret necesse est. In uno et altero ecclesia est, ecclesia vero Christus. Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas, Christum exoras. Aeque illi cum super te lacrimas agunt, Christus patitur, Christus patrem deprecatur. Facile impetratur semper quod filius postulat.

[1] ORIGENES, *in Jesu Nave*, Hom. v. 6 (ed. Lommatzsch, xi. p. 52): Non licet mihi tollere membrum Christi, et facere membrum meretricis. Dic ei, quia templum Dei effectus sum, non mihi licet immundum aliquid illuc inducere, nec fas est mihi violare templum Dei. Sed et illud adde, quoniam "qui fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat": non in istud corpus solum, quod templum Dei effectum est, sed et in illud, quod dicitur, quia omnis ecclesia corpus Christi est: et in omnem ecclesiam videtur delinquere, qui corpus suum maculaverit, quid per unum membrum macula in omne corpus diffunditur.

it speaks of God's name being sanctified in all, even in those who have not yet attained to the grace of God, and so, by praying for all, the faithful contribute to bring about their conversion.[1] The same writer especially exhorts penitents undergoing public penance to implore the intercessions of the faithful, that they may pray to God for them.[2] Mindfulness of sinners and participation of spiritual benefits with fellow-believers seems to Clement of Alexandria one of the virtues of the perfect Christian gnostic.[3] His disciple Origen expresses a similar idea in his allegorical description of various parts of the tabernacle of the old covenant.[4] In treating of prayer, this great

[1] TERTULLIAN, *de oratione*, cap. III. (ed. Oehler, tom. I. p. 558): Alioquin quantum ad nostram petitionem, cum dicimus: Sanctificetur nomen tuum, id petimus, ut sanctificetur in nobis, qui in illo sumus, simul et in ceteris, quos adhuc gratia Dei expectat, ut et huic præcepto pareamus, orando pro omnibus, etiam pro inimicis nostris. Ideoque suspensa enuntiatione non dicentes, Sanctificetur in nobis, in omnibus dicimus.

[2] *De pœnitentia*, cap. ix. (ed. OEHLER, tom. I. p. 660): Itaque exomologesis prosternendi et humilificandi hominis disciplina est, conversationem injungens misericordiæ illicem. De ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat sacco et cineri incubare, . . . presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere.

[3] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, vii. 12, 80 (ed. Dindorf III. 321): *Οὗτος ἐν ἕξει γενόμενος εὐποιητικῇ θᾶττον τοῦ λέγειν καλῶς εὐεργετεῖ, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἁμαρτήματα μερίσασθαι εὐχόμενος εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, κοινωνεῖν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν προθυμούμενος τοῖς φιλτάτοις· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ οἱ φίλοι. αὔξων οὖν τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ κατατιθέμενα σπέρματα, καθ' ἣν ἐνετείλατο κύριος γεωργίαν ἀναμάρτητος μὲν μένει, ἐγκρατὴς δὲ γίνεται καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων διάγει τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων, κἂν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔτι κατέχηται . . .*

[4] ORIGENES, *In Num. hom.* v. 3 (MIGNE P. G. xii. 605): Intelligamus ergo tabernaculum testimonii omnes sanctos, qui

teacher comes to speak of intercession ἔντευξις in particular. Following the passage in the first epistle to Timothy (ii. 1), he distinguishes four kinds of prayer; petition, praise, intercession, thanksgiving, and describes intercession as a petition presented to God on behalf of others by one having greater boldness.[1] He then brings forth the solicitude of the divine Spirit for the saints as an example of intercession, and then Joshua, who made the sun stand still, and Samson, who pulled down the house, adding the remark that although it is not said that Joshua and Samson offered up intercessions, but only that they spoke, still what they said seems to him to have been intercession, which is to be distinguished from prayer.[2]

It is plain that in this passage Origen takes ἔντευξις as meaning something different from our idea of intercession. Intercession in the strict sense he mentions in the same work, when dealing with the question in what sense Christ may be said to pray. At the beginning of prayer God is to be praised through Christ, then follow thanksgivings, then

sub testamento Dei censentur; et in hoc tabernaculo esse quosdam celsiores meritis et gratia superiores. . . . Alii sint altare incensi, quicunque orationibus et jejuniis die ac nocte vacant in templo Dei, orantes non solum pro semetipsis, sed et pro universo populo . . . Porro qui cum omnia fiducia per hostias precum supplicationumque victimas Deum hominibus repropitiant, et pro delictis populi interveniunt, propitiatorium nominentur. . . .

[1] ORIGENES, περὶ εὐχῆς, xiv. 2 (ed. Koetschau, II. 331): . . . ἔντευξιν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ παῤῥησίαν τινὰ πλείονα ἔχοντος περί τινων ἀξίωσιν πρὸς θεόν.

[2] *Ibid.* 5 (*ed. cit.* p. 332 *et seq.*).

lamentation before God for each sin, and then "after the acknowledgment of guilt, in the fourth place petitions for great and heavenly things are to be made, both in particular and in general, and for relatives and friends"; finally, the prayer is to conclude with the praise of God through Christ in the Holy Ghost (*i.e.*, with a doxology).[1] The correspondence of St. Cyprian shows how deeply the whole Christian spirit of the period was imbued with the idea of intercession. The Roman clergy urgently enjoins prayers for the lapsed that they may be restored, and received back again into the Church in the proper way; for those who stand that they be not tempted so as to fall.[2] The faithful confessors, Moses, Maximus, and their companions, beseech Cyprian to pray that the Lord may daily protect and strengthen them more and more, so that they may arrive at the glorious battlefield.[3] Cyprian himself

[1] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 1 (*ed. cit.* p. 401): . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν τέταρτόν μοι συνάπτειν φαίνεται δεῖν τὴν περὶ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐπουρανίων αἴτησιν, ἰδίων τε καὶ καθολικῶν, καὶ περί τε οἰκείων καὶ φιλτάτων.

[2] *Epistula* xxx. *inter Cypr.* 6 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 554): Mutuis votis nos invicem foveamus, custodiamus, armemus. Oremus pro lapsis ut erigantur, oremus pro stantibus ut non ad ruinas usque temptentur. Oremus ut qui cecidisse referuntur delicti sui magnitudinem agnoscentes intelligant non momentaneam neque præproperam desiderare medicinam; oremus ut effectus indulgentiæ lapsorum subsequatur et pœnitentiam, ut intellecto suo crimine velint nobis interim præstare patientiam, nec adhuc fluctuantem turbent ecclesiæ statum, ne interiorem nobis persecutionem ipsi incendisse videantur et accedat ad criminum cumulum quod etiam inquieti fuerunt.

[3] *Epistula* xxxi. *inter Cypr.* 5 (ed. HARTEL II. p. 561): Et si nondum nostrum sanguinem fudimus, sed fudisse parati sumus, nemo hanc dilationis nostræ moram clementiam indicet,

besought his fellow bishops, priests, and deacons, and all the faithful languishing in prison for the true confession of their faith, to intercede that with them he might fight the good fight, and that all they who withstand the attacks of the heretics, being united by the bond of peace, may rejoice together in the heavenly kingdom.[1] The bishop of Carthage exhorts his fellow bishop, Cornelius of Rome, in moving terms that they constantly remember one another in unity and concord, and pray for one another.[2]

quæ nobis offi.cit, quæ impedimentum gloriæ facit, que caelum differt, quæ gloriosum Dei conspectum inhibet. In hujusmodi enim certamine et in hujusmodi ubi decertat fides prælio moram martyres non distulisse vera clementia est. Pete ergo, Cypriane carissime, ut nos gratia sua Dominus magis ac magis in dies singulos quosque uberius atque propensius et armet et illustret, viribus potentiæ firmet ac roboret, ut qua optimus imperator milites suos, quos usque adhuc in castris carceris exercuit et probavit, producat jam ad propositi certaminis campum.

[1] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula* lxxvi. 7 (ed. HARTEL II. p. 833): Plane quia nunc vobis in precibus efficacior sermo est et ad inpetrandum quod in pressuris petitur facilior oratio est, petite inpensius et rogate ut confessionem omnium nostrum dignatio divina consummet, ut de istis tenebris et laqueis mundi nos quoque vobiscum integros et gloriosos Deus liberet, ut qui hic caritatis et pacis vinculo copulati contra hæreticorum injurias et pressuras gentilium simul stetimus pariter in regnis cælestibus gaudeamus. Opto vos, beatissimi et fortissimi fratres, in Domino bene valere et nostri semper et ubique meminisse. Valete.

[2] CYPR. *ep.* lx. 5 (*ed. cit.* p. 694): Memores nostri invicem simus, concordes atque unanimes, utrubique pro nobis semper oremus, pressuras et angustias mutua caritate relevemus. We shall return to this passage later on because of what follows in the letter. *Cf.* FUNK, *Apost. Konstitutionen*, p. 30 (Didascalia).

These brief quotations, which show us the actual use of intercessory prayer in the various parts of the Church, may suffice to prove that the conception of the inner fellowship existing among the faithful, which we saw in the sub-apostolic period, held its ground, and assumed an important position in the religious thought and feeling of the Christians belonging to the period we are now considering.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATION OF THE FAITHFUL TO THE DEPARTED.

In order to obtain a complete conception of what was believed as to the spiritual relation between the faithful on earth and the souls of the just in the other world, we must, first of all, try to give a general idea both of the teaching of Christian writers and of the practices of the Christian people with regard to this subject; secondly, we shall deal in a separate chapter with the position of the martyrs in the kingdom of God, according to the ideas of the Christians of the period; finally, we shall consider prayers for the dead and the manner in which they can benefit the departed.

We cannot better describe the union of all the elect who have shared in Christ's redemption in the one kingdom of God than by the words of Hippolytus in his commentary on Daniel.[1] "What then is the Church?" he asks; "The holy assembly of those who live in justice. For concord, which is the way of the saints to fraternity, is the Church, the spiritual house of God, founded on Christ in the east, in which all kinds of trees spring up, the generation of the fathers who have been set apart from the beginning, and the

[1] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, i. 17 (ed. Bonwetsch, *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller, Hippolytus*, i. p. 28 *et seq.*)

works of the prophets perfected according to the law, and the choir of the apostles made wise by the Word, and the martyrs redeemed by Christ's blood, and the vocation of virgins sanctified by water, the choir of teachers and the ordering of bishops, priests and Levites. All these flourish in the Church adorned with all austerity, being unable to decay. Receiving of their fruit, we obtain good understanding, as we eat of the spiritual and heavenly food which grows in them."

The departed saints remain in union with God's heavenly kingdom, and have their share in making the faithful on earth partakers of the election. The Church in heaven, according to Clement of Alexandria, is the model for the Church on earth, which is a copy of it.[1] Origen frequently speaks of the close spiritual connection of the different parts of the Church to one another; indeed his writings furnish us with a fully developed system of doctrine on this point. Owing to his great influence on the development of theology, his representation is all the more important. The faithful are in communion with the Holy Trinity; from this it follows that they are in inward spiritual relationship not only with "the saints" on earth, but with those who are in heaven. Origen, according to his custom, brings forward some proofs from Scripture from which he draws practical conclusions for the moral life of the faithful.[2] For him, as for Hippolytus,

[1] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, iv. 8, 66 (ed. DINDORF II., 354): Εἰκὼν δὲ τῆς οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας ἡ ἐπίγειος, διόπερ εὐχόμεθα καὶ "ἐπὶ γῆς γενέσθαι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ."

[2] ORIGENES *in Liviticum Hom.* iv. 4 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, ix.

the foundation of the Church dates from the beginning of the world: the revelation of the Old Testament is closely connected with the revelation in Christ, and all the just who have lived from the beginning make up the Church.[1] This view of the Alexandrian teacher is closely connected with the great importance we find he attached to the Old Testament revelation: he regarded the prophets as saints in the fullest sense, from whose writings Christians may learn that, if they have lived as the prophets lived, they will find rest and blessedness with them in the next world.[2]

p. 221): Igitur si nobis cum Patre et Filio, et Spiritu sancto societas data est, videndum nobis est, ne sanctam istam divinamque societatem peccando abnegemus. Si enim agamus opera tenebrarum, certum est, quia societatem negavimus lucis. Sed et sanctorum socios nos dicit Apostolus: nec mirum. Si enim cum Patre et Filio dicitur nobis esse societas, quomodo non et cum sanctis, non solum qui in terra sunt, sed et qui in cœlis? Quia et Christus per sanguinem suum pacificavit cœlestia et terrestria, ut cœlestibus terrena sociaret. Quod evidenter indicat, ubi dicit gaudium esse in cœlis super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente. Et rursum cum dicit eos, qui resurgunt a mortuis, futuros esse sicut angelos Dei in cœlo, et cum ex integro hominibus cœlorum regna promittit.

[1] ORIGENES, *in Cantic. Cant.* lib. II. in cap. i. ver. 11, 12 (MIGNE P. G. xiii. 134): Prima etiam fundamenta congregationis Ecclesiæ statim ab initio sunt posita, unde et apostolus dicit aedificari Ecclesiam non solum super apostolorum fundamentum, sed etiam prophetarum. . . . Erat autem in omnibus sanctis qui ab initio sæculi fuerunt facti. Diligens igitur eam venit ad eam. . . . Ipsi enim erant Ecclesia quam dilexit, ut eam vel numerositate augeret, vel virtutibus excoleret, vel perfectionis charitate de terris transferret ad cœlum. Ministraverunt ergo et prophetæ ab initio, ministraverunt et angeli, &c.

[2] ORIGENES *in Jeremiam hom.* xv. 1 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, xv.

The just, who have finished their course, are also examples for the faithful after which they model their own manner of life. If any of them, such as the apostles, prophets, and some of their disciples, have left behind them writings in which men may find instruction concerning the life according to God's laws, then they are all the more examples and guides to the faithful. Thus the Saviour wills that His disciples should be His fellow-workers in setting up the perfect moral order on earth, *i.e.*, mankind is to imitate the moral order which reigns in heaven, and the just in the kingdom of heaven are to co-operate with the Saviour by their prayers to the Father, and as things in heaven are subject to the Truth and the Word, so too things on earth, through the authority over heaven and earth bestowed on Christ, are by Him reduced to order and made to minister to the happiness of those who obey Him.[1]

The intimate connection between the Church on

p. 278): Οἱ μακαρίζοντες τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ τῷ μακαρίζειν αὐτοὺς εὐχόμενοι τὴν μερίδα ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν, συνάγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν προφητικῶν τὰ ἐξαίρετα τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν· ζητοῦντες οὖν πεισζειεν, ἂν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ βιώσωσιν. Ἐι καὶ σκληρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσεται ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν βίον τὸν προθητικόν· ὅτι τεύξονται τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τῆς μακαριότητος μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

[1] ORIGENES, *On Prayer*, XXVI. 4 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. p. 361): Ἐχων γὰρ ἐξουσίαν τῶν "ἐν οὐρανῷ" φησι προσειληφέναι τήν "ἐπὶ γῆς," τῶν μὲν "ἐν οὐρανῷ" και πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεφωτισμένων, ἐπὶ δὲ "τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ ἀιῶνος" κὰι τῶν "ἐπὶ γῆς" διὰ τὴν δεδομένην ἐξουσίαν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μιμουμένων τὰ, ὧν ἐξουσίαν ὁ σωτὴρ ἔλαβεν "ἐν οὐρανῷ" κατορθουμένων. οἱονεὶ οὖν διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν συνεργοὺς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα βούλεται λαβεῖν τοὺς μαθητευομένους αὐτῷ ἵν' ὁμοίως τοῖς "ἐν οὐρανῷ" ὁποτεταγμένοις ἀληθείᾳ και λόγῳ τὰ "ἐπὶ γῆς" διορθωθέντα διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ἔλαβεν "ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς," εἰς τέλος ἀγάγῃ τῶν ἐξουσιαζομένων μακάριον.

earth and the Church in heaven takes an almost material form, if one may say so, according to Origen, in that the departed souls attend the liturgical re-unions along with the faithful. Since the apostle Paul while still in his earthly body believed he could work with his spirit in Corinth (1. Cor. v. 4), it may be thought that in the same way the souls of the departed come in spirit to the assemblies of the Church, and perhaps even more speedily than those who are still in the body. From this Origen draws the further conclusion that the prayers at these assemblies are not to be despised since they contain something excellent for those who assist at them worthily.[1]

The just who have finished their course have the greatest interest in the spiritual welfare of the faithful on earth. Origen beautifully founds this on the view which he holds that, just as the knowledge of heavenly things in the other world is given through the face to face vision of God, so, too, only there the virtues practised in this life find their perfection. One of the most excellent virtues is love of one's neighbour. Accordingly, we must believe that the just, who are already asleep, are filled with love for their brethren who still strive after salvation, to a far higher degree than those who are themselves still encompassed

[1] *On Prayer*, xxxi. 5 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 399): Περὶ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ κυρίου συμπαρούσης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Παῦλός φησι· "συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ," ὡς δυνάμεως "τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ" συναπτόμενος οὐ μόνον μετὰ Ἐφεσίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Κορινθίων. καὶ εἰ ὁ ἔτι τὸ σῶμα περικείμενος Παῦλος συνάρασθαι νενόμικε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ, οὐκ ἀπογνωστέον οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας μακαρίους φθάνειν τῷ πνεύματι τάχα μᾶλλον τοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας· διόπερ οὐ καταφρονητέον τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς εὐχῶν, ὡς ἐξαίρετόν τι ἐχουσῶν τῷ γνησίως συνερχομένῳ αὐτῶν.

with human frailty. It was not with reference solely to love of the brethren on earth that it was said; "If one member suffer anything, all the members suffer with it; or if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it" (1 Cor. xii. 26). Thus the other words of the apostle, "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" (2 Cor. xi. 29) can also be understood of the love of those who have passed from this life. This compassionate interest of the departed just is all the easier understood since Christ Himself has said that in every weak saint He Himself is weak also.[1] This interest found expression not only in the example and teaching by which the saints enlighten Christian people, but also much more by the prayers which they offer for, and with, the faithful, that they may overcome the enemy of salvation and gain the reward of victory.[2]

[1] *On Prayer*, xi. 2 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II 322): Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, τῆς γνωσέως "δι' ἐσόπτρου" καὶ "ἐν αἰνίγματι" ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοῖς ἁγίοις φανερουμένης "τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον" ἀποκαλυπτομένης, μὴ τὸ ἀνάλογον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν νοεῖν, τότε κυρίως τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τελειουμένων. μία δὲ κυριωτάτη τῶν ἀρετῶν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπη· ἣν πολλῷ μᾶλλον προσεῖναι τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις ἁγίοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐν βίῳ ἀγωνιζομένους ἀναγκάιον νοεῖν παρὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἀσθενείᾳ τυγχάνοντας καὶ συναγωνιζομένους τοῖς ὑποδεεστέροις, οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ "εἰ πάσχει μέλος ἓν, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη· καὶ εἰ δοξάζεται μέλος ἓν, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη" τοῖς φιλαδέλφοις ἐγγινομένου· πρέπον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἔξω τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ἀγάπῃ λέγειν· "ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;" καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἁγίων ἀσθενεῖν ὁμοιως καὶ "ἐν φυλακῇ" εἶναι καὶ γυμνιτεύειν ξενιτεύειν τε καὶ πεινᾶν καὶ διψᾶν.

[2] ORIGINES, *in Num. hom.* xxvi. 6 (MIGNE P. G. xii. 778 *et seq.*): Si qui autem in ipsis viri fortes erunt, relictis animalibus et pecoribus et omnibus impedimentis pugnant adversus hostem nobiscum usquequo vincantur inimici nostri, usquequo hæredi-

Not only Christ our High-Priest prays with those who beseech God in the right way, but the angels also and the souls of the saints who are asleep. In proof of the prayers of the angels, the words of the angel Raphael to Tobias are quoted; for the prayer of the saints, Origen appeals to the account in the Machabees (2 Mach. xv. 13-15), where it is described how Jeremias appeared, reached out his right hand and gave Judas Machabeus a golden sword, and how Onias bore witness to Jeremias; "This is he that prayeth much for the people and for all the holy city, Jeremias the prophet of God."[1] In numerous passages of his writings, Origen takes occasion to speak of these intercessions of the saints at rest on behalf of the faithful still striving on earth. In his commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, he states that the phrase

tatem terræ bonæ, terræ mellis lactisque capiamus. Quis enim dubitat quod sancti quique patrum et orationibus nos juvent, et gestorum suorum confirment atque hortentur exemplis, sed et voluminibus suis, per ea quæ nobis ad memoriam scripta reliquerunt, docentes nos, et instruentes quomodo adversum inimicas potestates dimicandum sit, et quomodo agonum toleranda certamina? Pugnant ergo pro nobis et ipsi, incedunt primi ante nos armati.

[1] ORIGENES, *On Prayer*, xi. 1 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. p. 321): *Οὐ μόνος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῖς γνησίως εὐχομένοις συνεύχεται ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ "ἐν οὐρανῷ" χαίροντες ἄγγελοι "ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα δικαίοις, οἵ οὐ κρείαν ἔχουσι μετανοίας," αἵ τε τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ψυχαί . . . κατὰ τὸν λόγον γοῦν τοῦ Ῥαφαὴλ "ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης" Ἱερεμίου δέ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Μακαβαϊκοῖς ἐπιφαινομένου, "πολλῷ καὶ δόξῃ" διαφέροντος, ὡς "θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην εἶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπεροχὴν, καὶ προτείνοντος "τὴν δεξιὰν" παραδιδόντος τε "τῷ Ἰούδᾳ ῥομφαίαν χρυσῆν," ᾧ ἐμαρτύρει ἄλλος ἅγιος προκεκοιμημένος λέγων· "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προσευχόμενος πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως, Ἱερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης."*

"ordinate in me caritatem" (ii. 4) may be understood of the departed saints who assist us by their prayers and mediation before God.[1] He has also a characteristic allegorical interpretation of the animals selected for sacrifice in the Old Testament. He starts with saying the Lamb brought as a sin offering represents Christ; in the other sacrificial animals he sees allegorical representations of men who, through the merits of Christ's blood, have in any way procured purification for mankind. By these he means the martyrs, but one may also understand by them the angels and heavenly powers, holy men, the prophets and apostles, who earnestly beseech God for mercy on the sins of men.[2] The propitiatory character before God of the intercessions of the just is here clearly stated. Further, it is clear from Origen's

[1] ORIG. *in Cant. Cantic.* III. (ed. LOMMATZSCH, 15, p 25 *et seq.*): Sed et omnes sancti qui de hac vita decesserunt, habentes adhuc caritatem ergo eos qui in hoc mundo sunt, si dicantur curam gerere salutis eorum et juvare eos precibus suis atque interventu suo apud Deum, non erit inconveniens. Scriptum namque est in Machabæorum libris ita: Hic est Hieremias propheta Dei, qui semper orat pro populo.– *Cf. Comment. in Joan.* xiii. 57 (*ed. cit.* 2 p. 120): Φαίνεται δὲ μέλειν τοῖς προεξεληλυθόσι τὸν βίον τοῦτον ἁγίοις περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Μακαβαϊκοῖς γέγραπται μετὰ πλεῖστα ὅσα ἔτη τῆς Ἱερεμίου ἀναλήψεως· "οὗτός ἐστιν Ἱερεμίας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης ὁ πολλὰ εὐχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ."

[2] ORIGENES, *hom.* 24 *in Num.* 1 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, 10, pp. 293-95): Sic ergo fortassis et si quis est angelorum cœlestiumque virtutum, aut si quis justorum hominum vel etiam sanctorum prophetarum atque apostolorum, qui enixius interveniat pro peccatis hominum, hic pro repropitiatione divina velut aries aut vitulus aut hircus oblatus esse sacrificium ob purificationem populo impetrandam accipi potest.

commentary on St. Matthew that he understood this not merely of the prayers of the just while alive, but also of their intercessions after death, since he there states in express terms that the apostles and other saints are actually cognisant *now* of the wonderful works of God on behalf of the human race, and not merely were cognisant formerly, and that they present their intercessions before the face of Christ, and call upon Christ not to forsake mankind on account of their sins.[1] Thus, according to Origen, the prayers of just souls in heaven are able to propitiate God's justice and move Him to be merciful towards sinful men. This fact is important in estimating the intercessory character of martyrdom and the allied conception of the recommendations given by the martyrs to the lapsed, that they should be received back again into the communion of the Church. We shall deal with this point in the following chapter. These points in Origen's teaching are quite independent of his view that the just, the apostles included, do not yet enjoy

[1] ORIGENES, *in Matthaeum Commentariorum*, series, 29, 30 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, 4, p. 245): . . . Propterea dicunt ad Jesum, sicut alter manifestius dicit Evangelista: "Magister, vide quales lapides, et quales structuræ!" Videlicet ut flecterent eum ad misericordiam loci illius, ne faceret quod facere fuerat comminatus—30. Et haec corporaliter dicta sint. Moraliter autem hoc modo: cum sit humanæ naturæ admirabilis constructio facta, videlicet templum Dei et Verbi ejus, discipuli cæterique sancti, non solum tunc, sed etiam modo miranda opera Dei erga figmentum humanum confitentes, ante conspectum Christi intercedunt, et provocant Christum, ut ne deserat genus humanum propter peccata ipsorum, sed magis moveant eum ad indulgentiam opera ejus miranda, quam ad iracundiam iniquitas eorum.

the perfect bliss of heaven. Although, according to his view, perfect blessedness only begins after the full number of the elect has been made up,[1] this in no wise prevents the souls of the just in the next world from bestowing upon the faithful in this world the assistance of their intercessions.

These views of the great Alexandrian teacher harmonize with his teaching on the spirit world and its place in God's whole plan of redemption. Every creature yearns after redemption, and the just souls, being already certain of their own election, unite their longing with those who have not yet attained thereunto. Accordingly he explains the words of St. Paul in Romans viii. 22-23 as referring to this assistance which the just in the next world compassionately bestow upon the faithful still striving on earth.[2] The

[1] ORIGENES, *in Lev. hom.* vii. 2 (ed. LOMMATZSCH 9, p. 294): Nondum receperunt lætitiam suam ne apostoli quidem, sed et ipsi exspectant, ut et ego lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam. Neque enim decedentes hinc sancti continuo integra meritorum suorum præmia consequuntur, sed exspectant etiam nos, licet morantes, licet desides. Non enim est illis perfecta lætitia, donec pro erroribus nostris dolent et lugent nostra peccata. *Cf.* the account of Origen's eschatology in Atzberger, *Christl. Eschatologie*, pp. 402 *et seqq.*

[2] ORIGENES, *Comment. in Ep. ad Rom.* lib. vii. 6 (MIGNE P. G., xiv. 1118): "Similiter et Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram," &c. (Rom. viii. 26) Cum in superioribus (Rom. viii. 22) dixisset, quia omnis creatura his qui in agone hujus vitae sunt positi congemisceret et condoleret, hoc est collaboraret viresque conferret, tum etiam seipsum Paulus (Rom. viii. 23) ac sui similes proferre gemitus pro laborantibus memorasset, ut per haec solaretur in certamine positos, cum viderent omnes sanctos universamque creaturam affectu secum laborare gemitusque conjungere, addit nunc excelsius quid et sublimius. Ne,

former thus actively share in the ministry of the good angels, who in Origen's system of doctrine play so important a part in the fulfilment of God's purposes towards creation. Indeed, Origen reckons it among the secrets not suited for all, that not only the souls of the just assist, like the good angels, in all that furthers man's salvation, but the wicked behave towards men after death like the evil spirits, in whose company they are punished in everlasting fire, according to Christ's teaching.[1] Hence we see how the speculative development of doctrine concerning the relation of the dead to the living, as it appears in Origen, falls in with his whole conception of the spirit world.

We must not, however, conclude from this that we owe to Origen the foundation on which rests the

inquit, parvum putetis quod omnis nobiscum congemiscit et condolet creatura ; ne parvum videatur quod nos ipsi gemimus pro laboribus vestris. Etiam divinæ ipsi naturæ erga agones nostros (vobiscum enim me quoque conjungo) inest quidam miserationis affectus.

[1] ORIGENES, *Comment. in epist. ad Rom.* lib. ii. 4 (MIGNE P. G. xiv. 878) : Requiritur sane a quibusdam cur dies hic, de quo superius bibliothecas propheticas movimus, in fine mundi statutus sit, ut omnes qui ab initio sæculi usque ad finem ipsius defuncti sunt, ad hunc ultimum diem judicandi reserventur. Cujus rei interiores causas certum est secretioribus mysteriis contegi. . . . Jam vero si etiam extra corpus positi vel sancti, qui cum Christo sunt, agunt aliquid et laborant pro nobis ad similitudinem angelorum, qui salutis nostræ ministeria procurant ; vel rursum peccatores etiam ipsi extra corpus positi agunt aliquid secundum propositum mentis suæ, ad angelorum nihilominus similitudinem sinistrorum, cum quibus et in æternum ignem mittendi dicuntur a Christo, habeatur et hoc quoque inter occulta Dei nec chartulæ committenda mysteria.

whole doctrine we are considering, *i.e.*, the supposition that the souls of the departed offer to God actual and effective intercessions on behalf of the living. We are rather dealing with a belief spread throughout the whole Church, which we have already come across in the sub-apostolic period, and which, in the period now under discussion, attained to a fuller development. Origen himself testifies that this is the case, for he tells us that one of the old teachers had handed down the doctrine that the departed saints aid in obtaining salvation for the faithful.[1] Further light is thrown upon the subject by the fact that among the reproaches cast upon Christians by Celsus, we find he accuses them of seeking the favour of other beings besides God. This proves that the faithful in the time of Celsus actually believed in the help given by angels and holy souls in their struggle for salvation; it was only that the opponent of Christianity misunderstood

[1] ORIGENES, *hom.* 16 *in Josue*, 5 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, ii. p. 150): Sed requiris qui sint isti qui pugnant et quæ est illa pugna quam illi gerunt. Ego sic arbitror, quod omnes illi, qui dormierunt ante nos patres, pugnent nobiscum et adjuvent nos orationibus suis. Ita namque etiam quendam de senioribus magistris audivi dicentem in eo loco, in quo scriptum est in Numeris, quia "ablingent synagoga illa" hanc synagogam, sicut "ablingit vitulus herbam viridem in campo" (Num. xxii. 4). Dicebat ergo: quare hujusmodi similitudo assumpta est, nisi quia hoc est, quod intelligendum est in hoc loco, quod synagoga Domini, quæ nos præcessit in sanctis, ore et lingua consumit adversariam synagogam, id est, orationibus et precibus adversarios nostros absumit? Non ergo armis pugnandum est nobis adversum hostes nostros invisibiles, sed orationibus et verbi Dei meditationibus et operibus ac sensibus rectis. Sic enim armabantur et patres, fide et operibus vincentes. . . .

and misrepresented this belief. Origen did, as a matter of fact, interpret this reproach as referring to the intercession and assistance of the angels and blessed spirits, and in his reply he has some words which have important bearings on our subject. He states that all God's friends and favourites—angels, souls, and spirits—are well disposed towards those who possess God's favour and goodwill. They know who are worthy of the divine approval, and they are not only well disposed to them, but they co-operate with them in their endeavour to please God: they seek His favour on their behalf; they pray and intercede along with them for the grace of God; they are full of sympathy for the human race, and fight along with those who are consecrated to God and His service against the demons, whom Christ the Lord has overcome.[1] Although Origen in this passage states his own views on the doctrines relating to spirits and human souls in opposition to the views of an individual, still the fact remains that, by meeting the objections of Celsus in this way, he

[1] ORIGENES *Against Celsus*, viii. 64 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. p. 280): "Ενα οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν ἡμῖν ἐξευμενιστέον καὶ τοῦτον ἵλεω εὐκτέον, ἐξευμενιζόμενον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ. ἐι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς βούλεται μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι θεὸν, κατανοησάτω ὅτι ὥσπερ τῷ κινουμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ τῆς σκιᾶς αὐτοῦ κίνησις, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν ἕπεται εὐμενεῖς ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἀγγέλους καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα. συναίσθονται γὰρ τῶν ἀξίων τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐμενισμοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς ἀξίοις γίνονται ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπράττουσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν θεραπεύειν καὶ ἐξευμενίζονται καὶ συνεύχονται καὶ συναξιοῦσιν. ὥστε τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι ἀνθρώποις μετὰ προαιρέσεως προτιθεμένοις τὰ κρείττονα εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ μυρίαι ὅσαι ἄκλητοι συνεύχονται δυνάμεις ἱεραὶ, συμπαρέχουσαι τῷ ἐπικήρῳ ἡμῶν γένει . . .

proves that at that time such views were current in Christian circles. The extent to which the belief in the connection existing between the just in heaven and Christians on earth had spread among the people is most strikingly illustrated by the practice of asking the dead to intercede before God. Even apart from the martyrs, of whom we shall speak in particular later on, we find clear evidence for this practice in the third century in Africa and Rome. St. Cyprian asks the consecrated virgins to be mindful of him, when truly preserved virginity shall begin to be honoured in their persons, *i.e.*, when they shall happily have attained to the goal in the next world.[1] This request of the holy bishop can only be understood as referring to the intercessions which the virgins shall present to God in heaven on behalf of their former chief pastor. This is plain from another passage in one of Cyprian's letters to Bishop Cornelius of Rome, where he begins by exhorting him that they may be mindful of one another in their prayers here below, and then goes on to say that whichever of them dies first should preserve his love in God's presence, and not cease to pray for the brethren and sisters.[2] These

[1] CYPRIANUS, *de habitu virginum*, xxiv. (ed. HARTEL, i. p. 204): Quæ vos singula, o bonæ virgines, observare, diligere, implere debetis quae Deo et Christo vacantes ad Dominum, cui vos dicastis, et majore et meliore parte præceditis. Provectæ annis, junioribus facite magisterium: minores natu, præbete conparibus incitamentum. Hortamentis vos mutuis excitate, æmulis de virtute documentis ad gloriam provocate. Durate fortiter, spiritualiter pergite, pervenite feliciter. Tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in vobis virginitas honorari.

[2] *Epistula*, lx. 5 (ed. HARTEL, ii. p. 694): Incumbamus gem-

requests of Cyprian's necessarily presuppose the conviction that the souls of the departed elect are able to assist the surviving faithful through their prayers to God, and to obtain for them protection and grace. It is the same belief as that which underlies Origen's statements. There are some Roman epitaphs belonging to the end of the second century and to the third century which express the same conviction even more unmistakably. In these the surviving relatives who set up the epitaph directly invoke the dead to obtain their intercessions for themselves and others. Thus we read in an inscription from the lower gallery of the catacomb of St. Priscilla, which was used as a burial place in the second and third centuries :[1]

> Marine, im mentem (= in mente) nos habeto duobus (= duos) et Macriane f(iliam) c(arissimam).

Plainly the parents of the deceased Marinus address these prayers to him on behalf of themselves and of his sister.

Similarly we read in epitaphs certainly belonging to the period before Constantine :

> Pete pro parentes tuos (*sic*).[2]—Pete pro Celsinianu

itibus adsiduis et deprecationibus crebris. Hæc sunt enim nobis arma cælestia quæ stare et perseverare fortiter faciunt. Haec sunt munimenta spiritualia et tela divina quæ protegunt. Memores nostri invicem simus, concordes adque unanimes, utrubique pro nobis semper oremus, pressuras et angustias mutua caritate relevemus, et si quis istinc nostrum prior divinæ dignationis celeritate præcesserit, perseveret apud Dominum nostra dilectio, pro fratribus et sororibus nostris apud misericordiam patris non cesset oratio. *See above*, p. 51.

[1] De Rossi, *Bullettino di arch. crist.* 1892, p. 114.

[2] Perret, *Catacombes de Rome*, t. v. pl. xxxiii. 8.

conjugem (*sic*).[1]—Petas pro sorore tua, is the conclusion of an epitaph from a cemetery in the Salarian Way, now in the Lateran museum.[2]

Occasionally the benefit for which the departed is to pray is stated more definitely; thus, in the epitaph of Atticus:

Attice, dormi in pace, de tua incolumitate securus, et pro nostris peccatis pete sollicitus.[3]

And again an epitaph from a catacomb on the Salarian Way runs:

Suti, pete pro nos (*sic*) ut salvi simus.[4]

That these prayers were considered in the light of intercessions offered up for the faithful by those who were pre-eminently "the saints" is plain from the following conclusion of an epitaph from the catacomb of St. Priscilla: Εὔχου ὑπέρ ἡ(μῶν μετὰ τ)ῶν ἁγίων.[5] The prayer "with the saints" in the other world clearly indicates that intercessory character

[1] *Ibid.* pl. xxvii. 60.

[2] The complete text runs:—

ANATOLIUS FILIO BENEMERENTI FECIT
QUI VIXIT ANNIS VII MENSIS VII DIE
BUS XX ISPIRITUS TUUS BENE REQUIES
CAT IN DEO PETAS PRO SORORE TUA.

Lateran Museum, *Inscr.* cl. viii. n. 19: DE ROSSI, *Il. Museo epigrafico Pio-Lateranense, tav.* viii. n. 19.—PERRET, *Catacombes*, v. pl. lxx. n. 5. Here, as frequently elsewhere, we find requests for the intercession of the departed coupled with wishes and prayers for the salvation of the departed soul.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino*, 1894, p. 58.

[4] MARANGONI, *Acta S. Victorini*, p. 90.

[5] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino*, 1890, p. 143.

which all petitions of the departed souls possessed in the eyes of the faithful.

Two other inscriptions may be cited among the epitaphs belonging to the period before Constantine[1] on account of their definiteness. One of them comes from the Ostrian cemetery in the Via Nomentana and runs as follows:

> Διονύσιος νήπιος/ ἄκακος ἔνθαδε κεῖ/τε μετὰ τῶν ἁ/γίων. μνήσκεσθε/ δε καὶ ἡμων ἐν ταῖ/ς ἁγίαις ὑμῶν πρευχας (*sic*)/ καὶ τοῦ γλύψαντος καὶ γράψαντος/.[2]

We see here plainly what is meant by the "remembrance," for which petition is made to the departed, from the addition: "in your holy prayers." The prayer is addressed not to the innocent child Dionysius alone, but also to the "saints" among whom he rests in the catacomb, *i.e.*, martyrs buried therein.

The other inscription comes from Gaul. It is the concluding verse of the celebrated inscription of Autun in which Pectorios, the writer of the epitaph, beseeches his departed parents and brother in the peace of the "Ichthys," *i.e.*, Christ, to be mindful of him, *i.e.*, in the sense of interceding for him:

[1] *Cf.* Professor KIRSCH'S work, "*Die Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristl. Grabschriften*, p. 54 *et seqq.* where other inscriptions will be found.

[2] MARCHI, *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive*, p. 104; PERRET, *Catacombes*, v. pl. xliv. 3; WILPERT, *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde*, p. 42. Transl: Dionysius, an innocent child, rests here with the saints. Be ye mindful of us in your holy prayers, and also both of him who wrote this inscription and of him who incised it. In the sixth line the last word should be προσευχαῖς.

'Ασχάνδιε πάτερ, τῷμῷ κε(χα)ρισμενε θυμῷ
Σὺν μ(ητρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφει)οῖσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
'Ι(χθύος ἐιρήνῃ σέο)μνήσεο Πεκτορίουο.[1]

This monument proves the existence of the same belief in Gaul as we have found in Africa and in Rome.

The importance of all this for the purpose we have in hand is obvious. The practice, spread through the West, of invoking the souls of the faithful, believed to be in possession of the kingdom of heaven, for the assistance of their prayers with God, shows the existence of the same belief among Christian people as we saw lay at the root of Origen's speculations. It is closely connected with the doctrine that all who participate in the benefits of redemption are united to one another by spiritual bonds. The departed just remain in touch with living believers: they take an interest in their well-being, and, as their interceders with God, strive to gain for them grace and protection. From these premises the Christian people drew the conclusion that they could invoke departed souls to obtain their assistance and intercessions. In their writings on prayer, the teachers of the Church in the third century do not specially deal with these invocations. Origen indeed speaks of prayers, intercessions and thanksgiving which may be addressed to the saints;[2] but he seems clearly to mean only the saints

[1] From all that has been written on this monument it is sufficient to mention LE BLANT, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, I. p. 8, n. 4; POHL, *das Ichthysmonument von Autun*, *Diss.*, Berlin, 1880—Transl: Aschandios, father, beloved of my heart, with my sweet mother and brothers, in the peace of the Ichthys, be mindful of thy Pectorios.

[2] ORIGENES, *On Prayer*, xiv. 6 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. p. 333).

in the primitive Christian sense of the word, *i.e.*, living believers, for he goes on to say, one is only to address prayers for assistance to a saint, if one comes across a Paul or a Peter. It is easy to understand that no special mention was made of these invocations when the writers were dealing with prayer in the strict sense, *i.e.*, praise, thanksgiving, petition addressed to God as the sole supreme Lord. Origen even says: If we understand what προσευχὴ is, it is well not to pray to any creature, not even to Christ Himself, but only to the God of the universe, to the Father to Whom our Saviour both prays Himself and teaches us to pray.[1] In the other treatises, too, it is prayer in the strict sense, as addressed only to God, which is discussed. The inscriptions quoted above, however, prove beyond doubt that the faithful besought the souls of the just for their intercessions.

Although the faithful felt sure that these souls were able to obtain for them God's assistance by their intercessions, still they did not place all the saints in heaven on one level in this respect. The martyrs were the saints held in special honour, as having attained to the foremost rank among the elect, and with them the apostles, both as founders of the Church sent directly by Christ and perfect servants of the Lord, as well as martyrs. The special reverence for the martyrs of the faith, including the apostles, attained to yet further development; they were the "saints" in the highest sense of the word, and their veneration took definite shape during the course of the third century.

[1] *On Prayer*, xv. 1 (*ed. cit.* II. 333 *et seqq.*). This is not the place to investigate these views of Origen.

CHAPTER III.

THE POSITION OF THE MARTYRS IN THE CHURCH.

VIOLENT death suffered for the confession of the true faith elevated the believer to the rank of a perfect saint in the estimation of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations. The writers of the third century contain numerous indications both of this special veneration for the martyrs, and the practical effect it had upon the liturgy and on the religious practices of the faithful. It is during this period that the veneration of the martyrs attained to its full development in the Church.

The strength which enabled the martyrs to die for their faith comes from the Holy Ghost, and thus, according to the statement of St. Irenæus, they are "spiritual," because they have received the participation of the Divine Spirit.[1] Martyrdom is the summary of all Christian virtues ; the martyr is a perfect servant of God ;—so declares Clement of Alexandria in a long passage in the fourth book of his "Stromata." He

[1] *Adv. hæres.* V. ix. 2 (ed. STIEREN, i. p. 737) : Si igitur hoc, quod est promptum Spiritus, admisceat aliquis velut stimulum infirmitati carnis, necesse est omnimodo, ut id quod est forte, superet infirmum, ita ut absorbeatur infirmitas carnis a fortitudine Spiritus ; et esse eum qui sit talis, non jam carnalem, sed spiritualem, propter Spiritus communionem. Sic igitur martyres testantur et contemnunt mortem, non secundum infirmitatem carnis, sed secundum quod promptus est Spiritus.

sets an extraordinary high value upon martyrdom for the faith, and regards the martyr as a perfect Christian gnostic, whose example he holds up in various ways before those believers, the "gnostics," who are striving after perfection. It is especially the ethical side of martyrdom upon which Clement lays stress as bearing upon the end he has in view, and he draws out the different virtues it entails with strict regard to perfect (gnostic) Christians. He places the believer who strives after the practice of Christian perfection close to the martyrs, allotting to him also the highest rank among the just.[1] The martyrs are the perfect imitators of Christ and the apostles. Just as Christ alone drank the chalice of suffering for the salvation of all men, both unbelievers and those who should follow Him, so did the apostles, true and perfect "gnostics," in imitation of Him, suffer for the Church which they founded. And so the perfect, following in the footsteps of the apostles, must guard themselves from all sin, and, because they love God, love their neighbour also, in order that they, should they ever find themselves in such a position, may be able to drink the chalice of suffering for the Church.[2] By martyrdom, a Christian manifests perfect love of

[1] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, IV. iv. 15 (ed. DINDORF, II. 324 *et seq.*).

[2] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, IV. ix. 75 (ed. DINDORF, II. 359): *Μόνος τοίνυν ὁ κύριος διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπίστων ἀποκάθαρσιν "ἔπιεν τὸ ποτήριον." ὃν μιμούμενοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὡς ἂν τῷ ὄντι γνωστικοὶ καὶ τέλειοι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἃς ἔπηξαν ἔπαθον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ οἱ κατ' ἴχνος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν πορευόμενοι γνωστικοὶ ἀναμάρτητοί γε εἶναι ὀφείλουσι καὶ δι' ἀγάπην τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἵν', εἰ καλοίη περίστασις, ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησίας ἀσκανδάλιστοι τὰς θλίψεις ὑπομένοντες τὸ ποτήριον πίωσιν.*

God : on account of this love he willingly quits this earthly life, and even thanks him who has been the cause of his death and him who delivered him up. With a good courage he goes to the Lord, his Friend, for whom he has delivered up his body and even, as the judges expected, his soul, and is greeted by the Saviour with the words, "Oh dear brother," because of the resemblance of the martyr's life to His own. Christians gave to martyrdom the name of "perfection," not meaning thereby that it was the end of man's life, but because it manifested the perfect work of love.[1]

All writers of the third century hold the view that martyrdom confers perfect purification from all sins, even when the believer suffers before having received baptism. Clement of Alexandria applies Wisdom iii. 2-4, to martyrdom, and sees in the passage the expression of a glorious purification to be obtained thereby.[2] From our Lord's words, "He that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved" (St. Matt. xxiv. 13), he draws the conclusion that martyrdom is purification from sin and subsequent glory.[3] Among

[1] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, IV. iv. 14 (ed. DINDORF, II. 323). The most important passage is as follows: *Εὐθαρσήσας τοίνυν πρὸς φίλον τὸν κύριον, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἑκὼν ἐπιδέδωκεν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς οἱ δικασταὶ προσεδόκησαν, ἔρχεται, "φίλε κασίγνητε" ποιητικῶς γε ἀκούσας πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου ὁμοιότητα.* —*Cf.* also VII. xi. 66-67 (*ed. cit.* III. 308 *et seq.*).

[2] *Stromata*, IV. xvi. 104 (ed. DINDORF, II. 376): *Εἶτα ἐπάγει κάθαρσιν ἔνδοξον τὸ μαρτύριον διδάσκουσα "καὶ ὀλίγα παιδευθέντες μεγάλα εὐεργετηθήσονται, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐπείρασεν αὐτούς."*

[3] *Ibid.* IV. ix. 74 (*ed. cit.* II. 359): *ἔοικεν οὖν τὸ μαρτύριον ἀποκάθαρσις εἶναι ἁμαρτιῶν μετὰ δόξης.*

the different means enumerated in the gospel for the foregiveness of sins, Origen ranks second the suffering of martyrdom.[1] In his striking work on martyrdom, he exhorts the reader, whenever he is in danger of dying a natural death, to consider with him that perhaps they are saved from that sort of death in order that they may be baptized in their own blood and be cleansed from all sin, so that they may receive their abode at the heavenly altar along with their fellow-warriors.[2] In fact, Origen goes so far as to give here the baptism of blood the preference over the baptism of water, referring to our Lord's words, "I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized: and how am I straitened until it be accomplished?" (St. Luke, xii. 50). Few of those who received the latter keep free from sin to their life's end, but those who receive the former can sin no more. He, himself, would depart this life full of confidence could he receive this second baptism by dying for Christ. He gives his reasons for this, *i.e.*, the prince of this world can find nothing in the soul that has been cleansed by its own blood which he can bring against it; and further, the souls of the martyrs ascend above all the

[1] ORIGENES, *In Levit. hom.* II. 4 (MIGNE P. G. XII. 418): Audi nunc quantæ sint remissiones peccatorum in evangeliis. Est ista prima, qua baptizamur in remissionem peccatorum. Secundo remissio est in passione martyrii.

[2] ORIGENES, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, 39 (ed. KOETSCHAU, I. p. 37): *Ὑπομνησθῶμεν ἕκαστος, ὁσάκις ἀποθανεῖν τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἐκινδύνευσε, καὶ λογισώμεθα, μή ποτε διὰ τοῦτο ἐτηρήθημεν, ἵνα βαπτισάμενοι τῷ ἑαυτῶν αἵματι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν παρὰ τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς θυσιαστηρίῳ τὰς διατριβὰς μετὰ τῶν συναγωνισαμένων ποιησώμεθα.*

powers of the air right up to the heavenly altar.[1] We find the same views in western writers. Tertullian in several places expresses the same opinion in a manner

[1] ORIGENES, *In Librum Judicum hom.* VII. 2 (MIGNE P. G. xii. 980 *et seq.*): Perpendit enim nostra probatio non usque ad verbera solum, sed usque ad profusionem sanguinis pervenit: quia et Christus, quen sequimur, pro redemptione nostra effudit sanguinem suum, ut inde exeamus loti sanguine nostro. Baptisma enim sanguinis solum est quod nos puriores reddat, quam aquæ baptismus reddidit. Et hoc ego non præsumo, sed Scriptura refert, dicente Domino ad discipulos: "Baptismum habeo baptizare quod vos nescitis. Et quomodo urgeor ut perficiatur" (Luc. xii. 50). Vides ergo quia profusionem sanguinis sui baptisma nominavit. Et ne ista dicens offendam, vereor ne istud baptisma eminentius sit illo baptismate quod per aquam traditur. Illo enim accepto, valde pauci sunt ita beati, qui id immaculatum usque ad exitum vitae servare potuerint. Hoc vero baptismo qui baptizatus fuerit, peccare jam ultra non potest. . . . Mihi si concederet Deus, ut proprio sanguine diluerer, ut baptismum secundum morte pro Christo suscepta perciperem, securus ex isto sæculo discederem: ut veniens ad animam meam de hac vita exeuntem, princeps hujus mundi non inveniret quidquam, quin potius et sanguinis mei profusione sopiretur, nec auderet in aliquo criminari animam cruore suo dilutam, morte sua clarificatam, sanguine suo lotam . . . Quis enim sequi possit animam martyris, quæ supergressa omnes aërias potestates, ad cœleste tendit altare? Ibi enim sub altare Dei animæ martyrum positæ dicuntur diebus ac noctibus proclamare dicentes: "Quousque, Domine, qui justus et verus es, non vindicas sanguinem nostrum de iis qui habitant terram?" (Apoc. vi. 10). Ibi enim positæ divinis assistunt sacrificiis. Sed beati sunt qui hæc merentur. . . . Beata illa anima quæ occurrentes sibi aërias dæmonum turmas profusi in martyrio sanguinis cruore deturbat. . . . Beatæ sunt ergo animæ quæ sic Christum sequuntur, quomodo eas Christus præcessit. Et ideo quia sic sequuntur, usque ad ipsum Dei altare perveniunt, ubi est ipse Dominus Jesus Christus pontifex futurorum bonorum.

quite in harmony with what Origen has said. He calls martyrdom the "second immersion,"[1] the "second bath"; he also applies our Lord's words quoted above to martyrdom, and in the blood and water which flowed from our Lord's pierced side he beholds these two baptisms represented.[2] By martyrdom all sins are forgiven, and so Christians thank the judges who condemned them for their condemnation; Christians condemned by them to death are liberated by God.[3] In view of the many dangers which threatened Christians after reception of baptism and brought many of them to ruin, God appointed this second

[1] TERT. *de Patientia*, XIII. (ed. OEHLER, I. 610): Cum vero producitur ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occasionem secundæ intinctionis, ad ipsum divinæ sedis ascensum, nulla plus illic quam patientia corporis.

[2] *De baptismo*, XVI. (*ed. cit.* I. p. 634): Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet, de quo dominus: Habeo, inquit, baptismo tingui, cum jam tinctus fuisset. Venerat enim per aquam et sanguinem, sicut Joannes scripsit, ut aqua tingueretur, sanguine glorificaretur, proinde nos facere aqua vocatos, sanguine electos. Hos duos baptismos de vulnere profossi lateris emisit, quatenus qui in sanguinem ejus crederent, aqua lavarentur, qui aqua lavissent, etiam sanguinem potarent. Hic est baptismus qui lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat et perditum reddit. *Cf.* TERT. *de pudicitia*, IX. (*ed. cit.* p. 812).

[3] *Apologeticus*, c. L. (ed. OEHLER, I. p. 301): Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum quid intus in re sit? quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? ubi accessit, pati exoptat, ut tolam Dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam at eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur. Inde est, quod ibidem sententiis vestris gratias agimus. Ut est æmulatio divinæ rei et humanæ, cum damnamur a vobis, a Deo absolvimur.

means of obtaining full forgiveness of all sins and of gaining eternal salvation. Martyrdom is the highest expression of perfect love, and love covers a multitude of sins.[1]

Tertullian's great disciple, Cyprian, also compares martyrdom and baptism, and regards the former as a second baptism greater and more perfect than the latter. This view ought to be impressed upon Christians when in danger of persecution that they may be prepared to suffer martyrdom.[2] During the

[1] TERT. *Scorpiace*, vi. (*ed. cit.* I. 512): Prospexerat et alias Deus imbecillitates conditionis humanæ, adversarii insidias, rerum fallacias, sæculi retia, etiam post lavacrum periclitaturam fidem, perituros plerosque rursum post salutem, qui vestitum obsoletassent nuptialem, qui faculis oleum non præparassent, qui requirendi per montes et saltus et humeris essent reportandi. Posuit igitur secunda solatia, et extrema præsidia, dimicationem martyrii et lavacrum sanguinis exinde securum. De cujus felicitate David: Beati quorum dimissæ sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir cui non imputaverit Deus delictum. Proprie enim martyribus nihil jam reputari potest, quibus in lavacro ipsa vita deponitur. Sic dilectio operit multitudinem peccatorum quæ Deum scilicet diligens ex totis viribus suis, quibus in martyrio decertat, ex tota anima sua, quam pro Deo ponit, hominem martyrem excudit.

[2] CYPRIAN. *ad Fortunatum*, *præf.* 4 (ed. HARTEL, I. p. 319): Nos tantum qui Domino permittente primum baptisma credentibus dedimus ad aliud quoque singulos præparemus insinuantes et docentes hoc esse baptisma in gratia majus, in potestate sublimius, in honore pretiosius, baptisma in quo angeli baptizant, baptisma in quo Deus et Christus ejus exultant, baptisma post quod nemo jam peccat, baptisma quod fidei nostræ incrementa consummat, baptisma quod nos de mundo recedentes statim Deo copulat. In aquæ baptismo accipiuntur peccatorum remissa, in sanguinis corona virtutum. Amplectenda res est et optanda et omnibus postulationum nostrarum precibus expetenda, ut qui servi Dei fuimus simus et amici.

baptismal controversy the belief that catechumens martyred before baptism obtained the crown of eternal glory equally with those who were baptised before martyrdom was quoted against Cyprian's views on the baptism of heretics. On this account he felt himself compelled to deal with the question, and to meet the argument in his letter to Jubianus. We learn from this that all the teachers of the Church maintained the view that for those who believed in Christ martyrdom was the complete equivalent of the baptism of water.[1] It is worth while to note in this connection that in the acts of the martyrs Rogatianus and Donatianus, of whom the former died as a catechumen, Donatianus, when praying for him, asks that God would regard the sincere faith of

[1] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula* lxxiii. 22 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 795): Quo in loco quidam, quasi evacuare possint humana augmentatione prædicationis evangelicæ veritatem, catecuminos nobis opponunt, si quis ex his antequam in ecclesia baptizetur in confessione nominis adprehensus fuerit et occisus, an spem salutis et præmium confessionis amittat, eo quod ex aqua prius non sit renatus. Sciant igitur ejusmodi homines suffragatores et fautores hæreticorum catecuminos illos primo integram fidem et ecclesiæ veritatem tenere et ad debellandum diabolum de divinis castris cum plena et sincera Dei patris et Christi et Spiritus sancti cognitione procedere, deinde nec privari baptismi sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Dominus dicebat habere se aliud baptisma baptizari. Sanguine antem suo baptizatos et passione sanctificatos consummari et divinæ pollicitationis gratiam consequi declarat in evangelio idem Dominus, quando ad latronem in ipsa passione credentem et confitentem loquitur et quod secum futurus sit in paradiso pollicetur. *Cf.* also his treatise *De rebaptismate*, 11 (*ed. cit.* III. p. 82) 14 (*ed. cit.* p. 87).

Rogatianus as baptism, and the shedding of his blood as confirmation.[1]

Martyrdom is perfect victory over the prince of darkness and the evil spirits who exert all their powers to draw away men from attaining salvation. This is plain from some of the passages already quoted. According to Tertullian the Christian is snatched by faith from the jaws of the devil, but by martyrdom he fells to the ground the enemy of his salvation: by faith the Christian is delivered from the devil, by martyrdom he merits the crown of perfect victory over him.[2] Origen in consequence of his views on the world of spirits and their activity in regard to men, sees in persecution a battle between

[1] *Passio ss. Rogatiani et Donatiani*, v. (RAINART, ed Ratisp. p. 323): Beatus autem Rogatianus sine baptismatis gratia se perventum esse contristatur, sed hoc sibi ex fide credidit esse pro lavacro, si fratris sui catholici osculum mereretur. Quo comperto, beatus Donatianus pro germano his verbis fudit preces ad Dominum dicens: Domine Jesu Christe, apud quem hoc obtinent prompta vota, quod facta, quia ubi non potuisse impedit, sufficere creditur voluisse, cum nobis donasti eligere, tibi soli posse reservasti: sit famulo tuo Rogatiano pura fides donum baptismatis, et si contigerit, persistente præside, crastina die nos feriente gladio interire, sanguinis effusio fiat ei Chrismatis sacramentum.

[2] TERTULLIAN, *Scorpiace*, VI. (ed. OEHLER, I. p. 509): Sed si certaminis nomine Deus nobis martyria proposuisset, per quæ cum adversario experiremur, ut, a quo libenter homo elisus est, eum jam constanter elidat, hic quoque liberalitas magis quam acerbitas Dei præst. Evulsum enim hominem de diaboli gula per fidem jam et inculcatorem ejus voluit efficere per virtutem, ne solummodo evasisset, verum etiam evicisset inimicum. Amavit, qui vocaverat in salutem, invitare et ad gloriam, ut, qui gandebamus liberati, exultemus etiam coronat.

the Church and the powers of darkness ; the martyrs of Christ disarm these principalities and powers, and triumph over them with Him. As they have been His fellow-sufferers, so do they also share in the heroic acts achieved by His sufferings, among which is the triumph over the evil principalities and powers.[1] For when the souls of those who die for the Christian faith depart from the body in power and glory, they weaken the power of the demons and frustrate their wicked designs against mankind. It was Origen's belief that the demons shrank from having again recourse to violence, knowing as they did from experience that the martyrs of truth overcame them, and so, until they had forgotten their defeat, it is possible the world will be at peace with the Christians. But if they once more gather together their forces, and, blinded by their own malice, seek again to wreck their vengeance on the Christians and persecute them, then they will be overcome and slain : and the souls of the just, who have laid down their lives for their faith, will once again defeat the armies of the evil one. At times the demons attack Christians even when handed over to the judges ; the good con-

[1] ORIGENES, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, 42 (ed. KOETSCHAU, I. p. 39) : *φησὶ δὲ διὰ προφήτου ὁ θεός· "καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι." ποῖος οὖν ἄλλος εὐπρόσδεκτος καιρὸς, ἢ ὅτε διὰ τὴν εἰς θεὸν ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν ὑπὸ φρουρὰν πομπεύοντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ θριαμβεύοντες μᾶλλον ἥπερ θριαμβευόμενοι ἀπαγόμεθα ; οἱ γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ μάρτυρες συναπεκδύονται αὐτῷ "τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας" καὶ συνθριαμβεύουσιν ὡς κοικωνοὶ τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀνδραγαθημάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἐστι καὶ τό θριαμβεῦσαι "τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας," ἃς μετ' ὀλίγον ὄψεσθε νενικημένας καὶ κατῃσχυμμένας.*

fession of some causes them grief, the apostasy of the others inspires them with fresh courage.[1] And so the martyrs are as it were the protectors of the whole Church against the power of the demons.[2]

The souls of the martyrs enjoy the bliss of heaven in a greater degree than all other Christian souls: they attain immediately after death to the possession of heavenly glory; they pass at once to God and Christ in the kingdom of heaven. It is well known how various were the views of the authors of this period concerning the condition of departed souls until the end of the world. Yet all were agreed in this, that the martyrs attained at once to God in heaven, even although, according to the opinion of some, perfect blessedness was granted them, as to all the other elect (not even excepting the apostles), only after the

[1] ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum*, VIII. 44 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. p. 258): *Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν διὰ χριστιανισμὸν ἀποθνησκοντων δι' εὐσέβειαν μετ' εὐκλείας ἀπαλλαττόμεναι τοῦ σώματος καθήρουν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ἀτονωτέραν αὐτῶν ἐποίουν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλὴν, διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι τῇ πείρᾳ μαθόντες οἱ δαίμονές ἑαυτοὺς ἡττωμένους καὶ κρατουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφοβήθησαν πάλιν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι· καὶ οὕτως, ἕως ἐπιλάθωνται ὧν πεπόνθασι πόνων, εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς Χριστιανοὺς εἰρήνην. ἐπὰν δὲ συλλέξωνται τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας τυφλούμενοι πάλιν ἀμύνεσθαι θέλωσι καὶ Χριστιανοὺς διώκειν, πάλιν καθαιρεθήσονται· καὶ τότε τάλιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων καὶ δι' εὐσέβειαν ἀποδυομένων τὰ σώματα καθελοῦσι τὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ στρατόπεδον.* The blood of the martyrs destroys the power of the demons: ORIG. *Comm. in Joan.* VI. 36 (MIGNE, P. G. XIV. 293).

[2] In the acts of the martyrs it is usually the devil who appears as the chief enemy and attacks the martyrs with the intention of overcoming them; by their fidelity unto death, the martyrs overcome their opponent. Passages to this effect are so numerous that it seems unnecessary to enumerate them.

end of the world and the final judgment. This conviction is important for arriving at a judgment regarding the relation between the souls of the martyrs and the faithful on earth. Irenæus teaches that the Church, of the love she has for God, everywhere, and at all times, sends forth a crowd of martyrs to the Father.[1] The expressions used by Clement of Alexandria to describe the martyrs' reward point necessarily to the conclusion that he attributed to the martyrs their especial reward in heaven immediately on their death. He points to the door of violent death as being the entrance to true life.[2] The martyr hastens away to higher regions, leaving his body to those who are attached only to bodily things ;[3] set free by death, he hastens to the Lord, and is no more affected by this change of life than a man who passes from one period of his life to another.[4] We

[1] IRENÆUS, *Adv. hær.* IV. 33, 9 (ed. STIEREN, i. 671): Quapropter ecclesia omni in loco ob eam, quam habet erga Deum dilectionem, multitudinem martyrum in omni tempore præmittit ad Patrem. *Cf. ibid.* 31, 3 (*ed. cit.* I. 663 *seq.*).

[2] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, IV. vii. 44 (ed. DINDORF, II. 341) : Τοῖς δὲ ἀθλίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων θάνατος εἶναι ὁ βιαιότατος ἡ δι' αἵματος μαρτυρία τοῦ κυρίου δοκεῖ, οὐκ εἰδόσι τῆς ὄντως οὔσης ζωῆς ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ θανάτου πύλην, καὶ οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τὰς μετὰ θάνατον τῶν ὁσίως βεβιωκότων οὔτε τὰς κολάσεις τῶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἀσελγῶς πεπολιτευμένων συνεῖναι βούλονται . . .

[3] *Stromata*, IV. viii. 2 (*ed. cit.* II. 349) : Οὔτ' οὖν ἡ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐλπὶς οὔθ' ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπη δυσανασχετεῖ πρὸς τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα μένει δὲ ἐλευθέρα κἂν θηρίοις τοῖς ἀργιωτάτοις κἂν τῷ παμφάλῳ ὑποπέσῃ πυρὶ κἂν κατακτείνηται βασάνοις τυραννικαῖς, ταῖς θείαις ἀπαρτωμένη φιλίαις ἀδούλωτος ἄνω περιπολεῖ, τὸ σῶμα παραδοῦσα τοῖς τούτου μόνου ἔχεσθαι δυναμένοις.

[4] *Stromata*, IV. xi. 80 (*ed. cit.* II. 362) : Διά τί δὲ οὐ βοηθεῖσθε διωκόμενοι ; φησί τί γὰρ καὶ ἀδικούμεθα ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς θανάτῳ

find similar ideas in Origen. If we wish to save our souls, he warns us we must lose them by martyrdom in order to receive them back again better than souls. If we lose them for Christ's sake by dying for Him we obtain their true salvation.[1] If St. Paul was caught up into the third heaven and heard mysterious and unspeakable words, so too the martyrs know more and greater things after death, and do not descend hither again: provided they do not separate from Christ's disciples, they will also pass through the heavens and be exalted not only over earthly mysteries, but also over heaven and celestial things.[2] Yet more; whosoever drinks of Christ's chalice, *i.e.*, becomes like unto the Lord by martyrdom, will be enthroned along with the King of Kings, will rule and judge.[3] The martyrs, according to Origen's view, share immediately Christ's glory in Heaven. It is true, he thinks, all souls must pass through the fires of purgatory at their entrance into the other world, and those who are stained with sin, although they are destined for paradise, will be purified in this fire.[4] But when souls arrive in the other world

ἀπολυόμενοι πρὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ καθάπερ ἡλικίας μεταβολὴν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ βίου ἐναλλαγὴν ὑπομένοντες; εἰ δὲ εὖ φρονοῖμεν, χάριν εἰσόμεθα τοῖς τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ταχείας ἀποδημίας παρεσχημένοις, εἰ δι' ἀγάπην μαρτυροῖμεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φαῦλοί τινες ἄνδρες εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδοκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς. *Cf.* xii. 84 (*ed. cit.* II. 364).

[1] ORIGENES, *on Martyrdom*, 12.

[2] *Ibid.* 13.

[3] *Ibid.* 28.

[4] ORIGENES, *Selecta in Psalmos*, hom. III. 1 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, xii. p. 181): Et ut ego arbitror omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem. Etiamsi Paulus sit aliquis, vel Petrus, venit tamen ad illum ignem. Sed illi tales audiunt: "Etiamsi per

already free from all sin, they pass unscathed through these cleansing fires to their appointed place above the heavens by God's throne.

Tertullian states in the most express manner the martyr's privilege of attaining immediately after death to the Lord in heaven. The souls of all other departed believers must await the day of the Lord's advent before they can attain to celestial joy: they await in the under-world the time appointed for the judgment. The martyrs alone are excepted; their souls attain immediately unto the Lord.[1] This opinion of Tertullian concerning the under-world gave rise to contradiction. It was urged against him that Christ descended thither to save Christians from going there; also what difference would there then be between the heathen and Christians if all the dead were retained in the same prison? To this he replied

ignem transeas, flamma non aduret te." Si vero aliquis similis mei peccator sit, veniet quidem ad ignem illum sicut Petrus et Paulus, sed non sic transiet sicut Petrus et Paulus. Et quemadmodum ad rubrum mare venerunt Hebræi, venerunt et Aegyptii, sed Hebræi quidem transierunt mare rubrum, Aegyptii antem demersi sunt in ipso: hoc modo etiam nos si quidem Aegyptii sumus, et sequimur Pharaonem diabolum, præceptis ejus obedientes, demergemur in illum fluvium, sive lacum igneum, cum inventa fuerint in nobis peccata, quæ sine dubio ex præceptis elegimus Pharaonis. Si antem sumus Hebræi, et sanguine agni immaculati sumus redemti, si non portamus nobiscum fermentum nequitiæ, ingredimur quidem et nos fluvium ignis. *Cf. in Exodum hom.* VI. 4 (*ed. cit.* ix. p. 63): *In Lucam hom.* XXIV. (*ed. cit.* 5, p. 179).

[1] TERTULLIAN, *de resurrectione carnis*, 43 (ed. OEHLER, II. 522): Nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes dominum, nisi ex martyrii prærogativa, paradiso scilicet, non inferis, diversurus.

that the signs preceding the Lord's advent must first come before heaven be opened; then he brings forth as an argument in support of his view of the under-world that St. John in the Apocalypse mentions only the souls of martyrs as being in heaven, and that St. Perpetua in her vision saw only the souls of her fellow-martyrs there. In characteristic fashion he concludes, "The whole key of heaven is thy blood."[1] The various "mansions in our Father's house" are allotted according to various degrees of merit.[2]

[1] *De anima*, 55 (ed. OEHLER, II. 642): Sed in hoc, inquiunt, Christus inferos adiit, ne nos adiremus. Ceterum quod discrimen ethnicorum et Christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem? Quomodo ergo anima exhalabit in cælum, Christo illic adhuc sedente ad dexteram patris, nondum dei jussu per tubam archangeli audito, nondum illis, quos domini adventus in sæculo invenerit, obviam ei ereptis in aëram, cum his qui mortui in Christo primi resurgent? Nulli patet cœlum, terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausa. Cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna cælorum. . . . Sed in æthere dormitio nostra cum puerariis Platonis, aut in aëre cum Ario, aut circa lunam cum Endymionibus Stoicorum. Immo, inquis, in paradiso, quo jam tunc et patriarchæ et prophetæ appendices dominicæ resurrectionis ab inferis migraverint. Et quomodo Joanni in spiritu paradisi regio revelata, quæ subicitur altari, nullas alias animas apud se præter martyrum ostendit? Quomodo Perpetua fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in revelatione paradisi solos illic commartyres suos vidit, nisi quia nullis romphæa paradisi janitrix cedit nisi qui in Christo decesserint, non in Adam? Nova mors pro deo et extraordinaria pro Christo alio et privato excipitur hospitio. Agnosce itaque differentiam ethnici et fidelis in morte, si pro deo occumbas ut paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus et in lectulis, sed in martyriis, si crucem tuam tollas et sequaris dominum, ut ipse præcepit. Tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est.

[2] TERT. *Scorpiace*, 6 (*ed. cit.* I. 511); 12 (*ibid.* 527). *Cf. ad*

St. Cyprian holds the same view regarding the martyrs: immediately after death they attain to their heavenly crown and are associated with the angelic choirs. To quote only one passage in proof of this, he writes thus to several imprisoned confessors: "Expectatis cotidie læti professionis vestræ salutarem diem et jam jamque de sæculo recessuri ad martyrum munera et domicilia divina properatis, post has mundi tenebras visuri candidissimam lucem et accepturi majorem passionibus omnibus et conflictationibus claritatem." [1] That the same deeply rooted conviction prevailed in other quarters in the West appears from the letters of the confessors Moses, Maximus, and their companions to St. Cyprian, in which the grandeur of martyrdom for the Christian faith is enthusiastically described. In reading St. Cyprian's letter, it was as if they actually followed the martyrs with their eyes as they ascended into heaven and received their place among the angels and celestial powers.[2]

Martyres, 4 (*ibid.* 13); *de resurrectione carnis*, 43 (*ed. cit.* II. 522).

[1] *Epist.* lxxvi. 7 (ed. HARTEL, II. 832). *Cf. Ep.* lv. 20 (*ibid.* 638); *ep.* lviii. 3 (*ibid.* 658); *ep.* lxvi. 7 (*ib.* 731); *de bono patientiæ*, 10 (*ed. cit.* i. 404). *Cf.* ATZBERGER, *Eschatologie*, p. 534 *et seq.* The matter is so plain that there is no need to dwell on it at greater length.

[2] *Epistula* XXXI. *inter Cypr.* 2 (*ed. cit.* II. p. 558): Percepimus igitur, iterum dicemus, frater Cypriane, magnia gaudia, magna solacia, magna fomenta, maxime quod et gloriosas martyrum non dicam mortes sed immortalitates gloriosis et condignis laudibus prosecutus es tales enim excessus talibus vocibus personandi fuerunt, ut quæ referebantur sic dicerentur qualiter facta sunt. Ex tuis ergo litteris vidimus gloriosos illos martyrum triumphos et oculis nostris quodammodo cælum illos petentes

Among the glories of martyrdom it is expressly stated that the martyrs attain without any delay to the heavenly kingdom.[1] The same widespread conviction appears in the acts of the martyrs belonging to the third century, especially in those visions in which the confessors beheld heaven under various allegorical representations, and concluded that their own death and entry into celestial joys were close at hand.[2]

prosecuti sumus et inter angelos ac potestates dominationesque cælestes constitutos quasi contemplati sumus. Sed et Dominum apud patrem suum testimonium illis promissum perhibentem auribus nostris quodammodo sensimus. Hoc est ergo quod et nobis animum in dies erigit et ad consequendos gradus tantæ dignationis incendit.

[1] *Epistula* XXXI. *inter Cypr.* 3 (ed. HARTEL II. 559): Quid enim gloriosius quidve felicius ulli hominum poterit ex divina dignatione contingere quam inter ipsos carnifices interritum confiteri Dominum Deum, quam sævientis sæcularis potestatis varia et exquisita tormenta etiam extorto et excruciato et excarnificato corpore Christum Dei filium etsi recedente sed tamen libero spiritu confiteri, quam relicto mundo cælum petisse, quam desertis hominibus inter angelos stare, quam impedimentis omnibus sæcularibus ruptis in conspectu Dei jam se liberum sistere, quam cæleste regnum sine ulla cunctatione retinere, quam collegam passionis cum Christo in Christi nomine factum fuisse, quam judicis sui divina dignatione judicem factum fuisse, quam immaculatam conscientiam de confessione nominis reportasse. The perfect agreement with the views, and even to some extent with the very terms, of St. Cyprian is obvious.

[2] *Cf. Passio ss. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, IV, XI—XII. (ed. PIO FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, pp. 112, 126 *et seqq.*): *Passio ss. Jacobi, Mariani, &c.* (Ruinart, ed. cit. 268, 272): *Acta martyrum Scillitanorum* (in NEUMANN, *Der römische Staat und die christl. Kirche*, I. 74): *Acta ss. Fructuosi, &c.* (RUINART, 266): *Passio ss. Montani et Lucii*, XXII. (ed. PIO FRANCHI, p. 85).

And so in the eyes of the faithful of that period the martyrs were perfect followers of our Lord, elect friends of God, heroic warriors and victors in the strife against the powers of darkness and the enemies of the Church: immediately after their death, they received a special reward in heaven, as the reward of their glorious victory. Let us now examine more closely how the relations of the faithful to the martyrs were effected by the privileged position granted to the latter.

In the first place, the martyrs enjoyed the greatest reverence and respect in the Church on account of their renowned confession. To prove this from particular instances is useless; it follows obviously from the evidence already quoted in proof of the advantages of martyrdom. The Christians could proudly point to the great number of those who by their blood had borne witness to the faith. Quite early in St. Irenæus, we find martyrdom ministering to the service of apologetics, for this father draws attention to the fact that martyrs are only to be found in the Catholic Church; the other bodies have nothing of the kind to point to, and maintain that martyrdom is unnecessary.[1] By referring to Christ's

[1] IRENÆUS, *Adv. hær.* IV. 33, 9 (ed. STIEREN, I. 671): Quapropter ecclesia omni in loco ob eam, quam habet erga Deum dilectionem, multitudinem martyrum in omni tempore præmittit ad Patrem; reliquis antem omnibus non tantum non habentibus hanc rem ostendere apud se, sed nec quidem necessarium esse dicentibus tale martyrium; esse enim martyrium verum sententiam eorum: nisi si unus aut duo aliquando per omne tempus ex quo Dominus apparuit in terris, cum martyribus nostris, quasi et ipse misericordiam consecutus,

words that He would confess those before His heavenly Father who confessed Him before men, St. Irenæus refutes the persons who despised the martyrs and found fault with Christians who were put to death for their christian confession.[1] In the eyes of the faithful the martyrs were at that time "saints" in an especial sense, and to them belonged the most honourable titles of μακάριος,[2] *benedicti*,[3] *beati*,[4] *for-*

opprobrium simul bajulavit nominis et cum eis ductus est, velut adjectio quædam donata eis. Opprobrium enim eorum, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, et omnes pœnas sustinent, et mortificantur propter eam quæ est ergo Deum dilectionem, et confessionem Filii ejus, sola ecclesia pure sustinet (sæpe debilitata, et statim augens membra, et integra fiens; quemadmodum et typus ejus, quæ fuit illius Lot, salis figmentum) similiter ut veteres prophetæ sustinentes persecutionem, quemadmodum Dominus ait: Sic enim persecuti sunt prophetas, qui ante vos fuerunt; quoniam nove quidem, sed idem Spiritus requiescens super eam, ab his qui non recipiunt Verbum Dei, persecutionem patitur.

[1] *Adv. hær.* III. 18, 5 (ed. STIEREN, I. p. 520): Etenim ipse confessurum se promittebat coram Patre suo eos, qui confiterentur nomen suum coram hominibus; negaturum antem eos qui negarent eum et confusurum qui confunderentur confessionem ejus. Et quum hæc ita se habeant, ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidem, ut etiam martyres spernant et vituperent eos, qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur, et sustinent omnia a Domino prædicta, et secundum hoc conantur vestigia assequi passionis Domini, passibilis martyres facti; quos et concedimus ipsis martyribus. Quum enim inquiretur sanguis eorum et gloriam consequentur, tunc a Christo confundentur omnes qui inhonoraverunt eorum martyrium.

[2] *Acta Martyr. Lugdunensium*, in EUSEBIUS, *hist. eccles.* V. 1-3, *passim.*

[3] TERTULLIAN, *ad martyres*, I. (ed. OEHLER, I. 3); 2 (*ibid.* 7).

[4] Frequently in the letters of St. Cyprian.

tissimi ac beatissimi.[1] St. Cyprian, in glowing words, esteems the church blessed being glorified by the illustrious blood of the martyrs.[2] Hence we also see how the confessors languishing in prison, and suffering already for their steadfastness in the faith, were honoured by the faithful in every possible way. Not only, as we might expect, was everything done to relieve their sufferings, but the respect of Christians found expression in special acts, such as kissing their chains,[3] kissing the ground on which their feet had trod,[4] and extolling them as faithful confessors.[5]

The steadfastness of the martyrs under the most frightful sufferings was an example to the rest of the faithful and at the same time a cause of amazement to the heathen, who, in consequence, had their attention drawn to christianity. Clement of Alexandria only

[1] CYPRIAN, *ep.* X. (ed. HARTEL, II. 490, 491); *ep.* XV. (*ibid.* 513). *Cf.* the *Passio ss. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, 21 (ed. PIO FRANCHI, 148).

[2] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula* X. 5 (ed. HARTEL, II. 494): O beatam ecclesiam nostram quam sic honor divinæ dignationis inluminat, quam temporibus nostris gloriosus martyrum sanguis inlustrat. Erat ante in operibus fratrum candida: nunc facta est in martyrum cruore purpurea. Floribus ejus nec lilia nec rosæ desunt. Certent nunc singuli ad utriusque honoris amplissimam dignitatem. Accipiant coronas vel de opere candidas vel de passione purpureas. In cælestibus castris et pax et acies habent flores suos quibus miles Christi ob gloriam coronetur.

[3] TERTULLIAN, *ad uxorem*, lib. II. 4 (ed. OEHLER, I. 689).

[4] *Passio Philippi episcopi Heracl.* (RUINART, p. 444): Tanta autem cupiditate currebatur a singulis, ut nec nox a salutatione cessaret. Prostrati quotidie solo, Philippi vestigia sancta lambebant, scientes quantum in eo divini esset auxilii.

[5] *Cf.* the writings of Origen and Tertullian addressed to the martyrs, and St. Cyprian's letters to the confessors.

gives expression to the universal conviction when he says that martyrdom is profitable for all, since by it those who are in the Church are strengthened, the heathen seeking salvation are led forward, and the others are filled with astonishment.[1] Similar expressions are to be found in numerous writings of the period. Christian teachers did not fail to encourage the faithful, by the example of the martyrs, to stand worthily before God, striving with body and soul to attain to the crown of immortality along with them.[2] The martyrs were thus regarded as examples for the faithful whom they should endeavour to imitate.

The view held by some of the teachers of this period regarding the "satisfactory" character of martyrdom played an important part in the further development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. We have already found indications in the earlier period that martyrdom, like other good works, could be offered up to God for the benefit of others, or rather that by means of their death the martyrs

[1] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, lib. IV. ix. 73 (ed. DINDORF, II. 358): *Δοθήσεται δέ τισιν, ἐὰν συμφέρῃ, ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἵνα διά τε τῆς μαρτυρίας διά τε τῆς ὁμολογίας ὠφελῶνται οἱ πάντες, ἰσχυροποιούμενοι μὲν οἱ κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, θαυμάζοντες δὲ καὶ εἰς πίστιν ὑπαγόμενοι οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν πολυπραγμονήσαντες, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκπήξεως κατεχόμενοι.*

[2] HIPPOLYTUS, *Commentary on Daniel*, II. 38 (ed. BONWETSCH, I. 116 *et seq.*): *Ἡνίκα γὰρ ἄν τις τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ μαρτύριον κληθῇ καὶ μεγαλεῖά τινα ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν γενηθῇ εὐθέως πάντες ἰδόντες θαυμάζουσιν . . . πολλοὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν πιστεύσαντες ὠσαύτως καὶ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες θεοῦ γίνονται. ᾧ πιστεύσαντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς θεῷ παραστήσωμεν σωφρονοῦντι σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ πνεύματι, ἵνα τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ ἡμεῖς λαβόντες ἅμα τοῖς μακαρίοις μάρτυσιν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσωμεν.*

could obtain for others grace and blessing from God (*vid. ante.* p. 26). We now meet with a more developed conception of the same idea. Clement of Alexandria teaches that God does not cause the sufferings of the just, but permits them in order to bring good from them. He explains the words in Isaias (v. 5): "I will break down the wall thereof, and the vineyard shall be trodden down," of the way in which God's providence educates men by sufferings: Christ and the apostles suffered for our sins, other men suffer for their own sins.[1] And so in a certain sense "satisfactory" merit is ascribed to the sufferings and death of the apostles in a similar manner as to the sufferings of the Redeemer. Origen goes further and states that the apostles and martyrs by their death expiate the sins of the faithful, and finds scriptural support for this idea by explaining in this sense two passages from St. Paul's epistles (2 Cor. xii. 15; 2 Tim. iv. 6), and the passage from the Apocalype where the souls of the slain are represented under the altar. Then he laments that in his time there were no martyrs, and expresses the fear that the faithful of that date perhaps obtain no pardon for their sins, on account of the lack of martyrs.[2] He frequently refers to this, but nearly

[1] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, IV., 12, 87 (ed. DINDORF, II. 365): "Καθελῶ γοῦν, φησὶ, τὸν τοῖχον καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα" παιδευτικῆς τέχνης τῆς τοιάδε αὐτῆς οὔσης προνοίας ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἑκάστου ἁμαρτίας, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διὰ τὰς ἡμῶν.

[2] Origenes. In Num. hom. X., 2 (Migne, P. Gr. XII., 638): Sed redeamus ad pontificem nostrum, pontificem magnum qui penetravit cœlos, Jesum Dominum nostrum; et videamus

always accompanies his statements with expressions indicating doubt. For instance, in the twenty-fourth homily on Numbers, in explaining symbolically the various animals offered in sacrifice, he interprets the other animals as signifying the just in the same way as the lamb signifies Christ, since they had given their blood and so perhaps obtained atonement before

quomodo ipse cum filiis suis, apostolis scilicet et martyribus, sumit peccata sanctorum. Et quidem quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus venerit ut tolleret peccatum mundi et morte sua peccata nostra deleverit, nullus qui Christo credit ignorat. Quomodo antem et filii ejus auferant peccata sanctorum, id est apostoli et martyres, si poterimus ex Scripturis divinis probare tentabimus. Audi primo Paulum dicentem: "Libenter enim, inquit, expendam et expendar pro animabus vestris" (2 Cor. XII. 15); et in alio loco: "Ego enim jam immolor, inquit, et tempus regressionis" sive "resolutionis meæ instat" (2 Tim. IV. 6). Pro iis ergo quibus scribebat expendi se et immolari dicit Apostolus. Hostia autem cum immolatur, ad hoc immolatur ut eorum, quo quibus jugulatur, peccata purgentur. De martyribus antem scribit Joannes apostolus in Apocalypsi, quia animæ eorum qui jugulati sunt propter nomen Domini Jesu assistunt altari (Apoc. VI.); qui antem assistit altari, ostenditur fungi sacerdotis officio. Sacerdotis antem officium est, pro populi supplicare peccatis. Unde ego vereor, ne forte ex quo martyres non fiunt, et hostiæ sanctorum non offeruntur pro peccatis nostris, peccatorum nostrorum remissionem non mereamur. Et ideo vereor, ne permanentibus in nobis peccatis nostris, accidat nobis illud quod de semetipsis dicunt Judæi, quia non habentes altare, neque templum, neque sacerdotium, et ob hoc nec hostias offerentes, peccata, inquit, nostra manent in nobis; et ideo venia nulla subsequitur. Et contra, nos dicere debemus, quia hostiæ martyrum non offerentur pro nobis, idcirco manent in nobis peccata nostra; non enim meremur persecutionem pati propter Christum, nec mori propter nomen Filii Dei. Et ideo etiam diabolus, sciens per passionem martyrii remissionem fieri peccatorum, non vult nobis publicas gentilium persecutiones

God for a part of the people.[1] In his commentary on St. John's gospel, he connects this idea with the view that by the death of the martyrs, the power of the evil spirits is weakened, and so many as have been overcome by evil spirits are set free from the burden under which they have groaned. And so by the martyrs' death many obtain in a special manner power and strength, like one who kills or charms a snake, so that it no longer injures anyone but benefits many.[2] Thus the martyrs, as it were, fill up what is lacking of the sufferings of Christ, as Origen writes to Ambrose and Protoctetus in his work on martyrdom.[3] As Abel's blood cried from earth to heaven,

movere ; scit enim quia si ad reges et præsides adducamur propter nomen Christi, ad testimonium Judæis et gentibus, gaudium nobis et exsultatio sit, quia merces nostra multa in cœlis est.

[1] *Homilia* 24 *in Num.*, I. (ed. LOMMATZSCH, 10, pp. 293-295) : Quod si agnus qui ad purificandum populum datus est, ad personam Domini et Salvatoris nostri refertur, consequens videtur quod etiam cætera animalia quæ eisdem purificativis usibus deputata sunt, referri debeant similiter ad aliquas personas, quæ per meritum sanguinis Christi purificationis aliquid humano generi conferant. Vide ergo ne forte sicut Dominus et Salvator noster quasi agnus ad occisionem ductus et in sacrificium altaris oblatus peccatorum remissionem universo præstitit mundo : ita fortassis et cæterorum sanctorum ac justorum sanguis qui effusus est a sanguine Abel justi usque ad sanguinem Zachariæ prophetæ qui interfectus est inter ædem et altara : alterius quidem sanguis sicut vitulæ, alterius sicut hirci, aut capræ, aut alicujus horum fusus est ad expiandum pro parte aliqua populum.

[2] ORIGENES, *Comment. in Joan.* Tom. VI. 36 (*ed. cit.* I. pp. 260 *et seq.*).

[3] *On Martyrdom*, 36 (ed. KOETSCHAU, I. 33).

so may we suppose the voice of the blood of all the martyrs cries to God. For as we have been bought with the precious blood of Jesus, since Jesus has received the name above all other names, so probably will many be bought with the blood of the martyrs since they will be more exalted than if they had not been martyrs, even though they were saints.[1]

These statements of Origen concerning the spiritual power of the martyrs' blood as a ransom for sin express a view peculiar to the Alexandrian teacher, but the conception that underlies them, *i.e.*, that martyrdom has a "satisfactory" power for others in God's sight, was one that gained a wide acceptance. It was this conception, in my opinion, which gave rise to the custom which existed from the beginning of the second century that confessors, who had stood firm before their judges and had suffered in consequence, should ask for the reconciliation of such notorious sinners as had been cut off from church-fellowship on account of their "peccata ad mortem." Tertullian

[1] ORIGENES, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, 50 (*ed. cit.* I. p. 46): Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκωμεν, ὅτι τὸ εἰρημένον περὶ τοῦ Ἄβελ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωποκτόνου καὶ ἀδίκου Κάϊν ἐφαρμόζει πᾶσιν, ὧν ἀδίκως ἐξεχύθη τὸ αἷμα, τὸ γάρ· "φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου βοᾷ πρός με ἐκ τῆς γῆς" νομίσωμεν λέγεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν μαρτύρων, ὧν ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ αἵματος βοᾷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. τάχα δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ "τιμίῳ αἵματι" τῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἠγοράσθημεν, Ἰησοῦ λαβόντος "τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα," οὕτως τῷ "τιμίῳ αἵματι" τῶν μαρτύρων ἀγορασθήσονταί τινες, καὶ αὐτῶν πλέον ὑψουμένων παρ' ὃ ὑψώθησαν ἂν δίκαιοι μὲν γενόμενοι μὴ μαρτυρήσαντες δέ· λόγον γὰρ ἔχει τί ἰδίως τὸν ἐν μαρτυρίῳ θάνατον ὑψωσιν καλεῖσθαι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ· "ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν." δοξάσωμεν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑψώσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν θανάτῳ τὸν θεὸν. ἐπείπερ ὁ μαρτυρῶν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ "θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεὸν." ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπὸ Ἰωάννου μεμαθήκαμεν εἰπόντος· "ταῦτα δὲ εἶπε σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεὸν."

does not condemn the principle on which this custom rested when, in his work "Ad Martyres," he exhorts the martyrs to preserve peace among themselves in order they may eventually bestow it upon others.[1] In this, the earliest evidence for the practice—the work was written about A.D. 97—Tertullian recognises the custom without making any further statement as to the special significance of these recommendations given by the confessors. In the "De Pudicitia," one of his later writings full of bitterness and hatred against the Catholic Church, he expresses himself in the strongest terms against the rights of the confessors to impart the Church's peace, *i.e.*, the reception of sinners once more into the communion of the Church. He makes out that the confessors forgive sins, and since in his montanistic zeal he denies to the bishop the right of forgiving sins, so he argues, *a fortiori*, the confessor cannot possess the same right. Not even in the moment of death can he exercise it, for the forgiveness of sins can only (directly and solely) come from God.[2] There is no doubt that Tertullian exaggerates in this passage, as

[1] TERTULLIAN, *Ad martyres*, I. (ed. OEHLER, I. p. 5): Nec illi (diabolo) tam bene sit in suo regno (sc. in carcere), ut vos committat, sed inveniat munitos et concordia armatos, quia pax vestra bellum est illi. Quam pacem quidam in ecclesia non habentes a martyribus in carcere exorare consueverunt. Et ideo eam propterea in vobis habere et fovere et custodire debetis, ut, si forte, et aliis præstare possitis. *Cf.* the notes in Oehler.

[2] *De Pudicitia*, XXII. (*ed. cit.* I., p. 844): Domini enim, non famuli, est jus et arbitrium, dei ipsius, non sacerdotis. At tu jam et in martyres tuos effundes hanc potestatem. Ut quisque ex consensione vincula induit adhuc mollia in novo custodiæ nomine, statim ambiunt mœchi, statim adeunt fornicatores, jam

he does throughout this work in attacking the practices of the Church. Still it would seem that ill instructed Christians then, as at a later date, did regard the recommendation of the confessors to receive back the lapsed and other notorious sinners as an actual remission of sins by the confessors. At any rate, the confessor Celerinus, when writing to the confessor Lucian, begs him to request of his fellow-confessors that whoever might be the first of them to be crowned, *i.e.*, suffer martyrdom, should forgive the sisters

preces circumsonant, jam lacrimæ circumstagnant maculati cujusque, nec ulli magis aditum carceris redimunt quam qui ecclesiam perdiderunt. Violantur viri et feminæ in tenebris plane ex usu libidinum notis, et pacem ab his quærunt qui de sua periclitantur. Alii ad metalla confugiunt et inde communicatores revertuntur, ubi jam aliud martyrium necessarium est delictis post martyrium novis. Quis enim in terris et in carne sine culpa? Quis martyr sæculi incola, denariis supplex, medico obnoxius et feneratori? Puta nunc sub gladio jam capite librato, puta in patibulo jam corpore expanso, puta in stipite jam leone concesso, puta in axe jam incendio adstructo, in ipsa, dico, securitate et possessione martyrii, quis permittit homini donare quæ deo reservanda sunt, a quo ea sine excusatione damnata sunt, quæ nec apostoli, quod sciam, martyres et ipsi donabilia judicaverunt? Denique jam ad bestias depugnaverat Paulus Ephesi, cum interitum discernit incesto. Sufficiat martyri propria delicta purgasse. Ingrati vel superbi est in alios quoque spargere quod pro magno fuerit consecutus. Quis alienam mortem sua solvit, nisi solus dei filius? Nam et in ipsa passione liberavit latronem. Ad hoc enim venerat, ut ipse a delicto purus et omnia sanctus pro peccatoribus obiret. Proinde qui illum æmularis donando delicta, si nil ipse deliquisti, plane patere pro me. Si vero peccator es, quomodo oleum faculæ tuæ sufficere et tibi et mihi poterit? Habeo etiam nunc quo probem Christum. Si propterea Christus in martyre est, ut mœchus et fornicatores martyr absolvat, occulta cordis edicat, ut ita delicta concedat, et Christus est.

Numeria and Candida the sin of their apostasy.[1] Cyprian also writes to the Roman clergy that the confessor Lucian had taken it upon himself to impart peace and forgive sins in the name of Paul (one of the martyrs), maintaining the latter had commissioned him to do so. Cyprian excuses Lucian's conduct to some extent on the grounds of ignorance and uncontrolled zeal, and thereupon remarks that our Lord said people were to be baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and by baptism sins that had been committed were forgiven.[2]

[1] *Epistula* XXI. *inter Cypr.* 3 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 531): Rogo itaque, Domine, et peto per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ut ceteris collegis tuis fratribus tuis meis dominis referas et ab eis petas ut quicumque prior vestrum coronatus fuerit, istis sororibus nostris Numeriæ et Candidæ tale peccatum remittant nam hanc ipsam Etecusam semper appelavit, testis est nobis Deus, quia pro se dona numeravit ne sacrificaret: sed tantum ascendisse videtur usque ad Tria fata et inde descendisse. Hanc ergo non sacrificasse ego scio. Quarum jam causa audita præceperunt eas præpositi tantisper sic esse, donec episcopus constituatur. Sed quatenus per vestras sanctas orationes et petitiones, in quas nos fidimus, quoniam estis amici sed et testes Christi, qui omnia indulgeatis.

[2] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula* XXVII. 3 (*ed. cit.* II. p. 543): Exempla quoque epistolæ Celerini boni et robusti confessoris, quam ad Lucianum eundem confessorem scripserit, item quid Lucianus ei rescripserit, misi vobis, ut sciretis elaborare circa omnia diligentiam nostram et veritate ipsa disceretis, Celerinus confessor quam sit moderatus et cautus et humilitate ac timore sectæ nostræ verecundus, Lucianus vero circa intelligentiam dominicæ lectionis ut dixi minus peritus et circa invidiam verecundiæ nostræ relinquendam facilitate sua immodestus. Nam cum Dominus dixerit in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti gentes tingui et in baptismo præterita peccata dimitti, hic præcepti et legis ignarus mandat pacem dari et peccata dimitti

St Cyprian, the bishops of Africa, the Roman clergy, Dionysius of Alexandria, in a word the heads of the churches, and no doubt the great majority also of the faithful, did not regard the recommendations of the confessors to receive back again those who had lapsed as pardons for sin granted by the confessors. This is clearly proved by the practice followed, both during the persecution and after peace had been re-established, with regard to the re-admission of penitents and with regard to the recommendations obtained from confessors. In every case penance and the laying on of hands was required, even from those who had fallen into grievous sickness before the end of the persecution, and, in accordance with the practice followed in Rome and Africa, had, on that account, been received back into church communion on the written recommendation of a martyr.[1] Later on, as is well known, still clearer distinctions were drawn between the different classes of the lapsed, and public penances were vigorously imposed upon each,

in Pauli nomine et hoc sibi ab illo dicit esse mandatum, sicut in litteris ejusdem Luciani ad Celerinum factis animadvertetis, quibus minus consideravit quod non martyres evangelium faciant, sed per evangelium martyres fiant.

[1] CYPRIAN, *Epistula* XX. to the Roman clergy, 3 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 528): Postmodum vero cum quidam de lapsis sive sua sponte sive alio incitatore audaci flagitatione prorumperent ut pacem sibi a martyribus et confessoribus promissam extorquere violento impetu niterentur, de hoc etiam bis ad clerum litteras feci et legi eis mandavi, ut ad illorum violentiam interim quoque genere mitigandam, si qui libello a martyribus accepto de sæculo excederent, exomologesi facta et manu eis in pœnitentia inposta cum pace sibi a martyribus promissa ad Dominum remitterentur.

and in every case the absolution of the sinner was given in the authorised manner common in the Church. With the exception of the passages quoted above, we find no complaints in the Christian writings of the period that confessors had forgiven sins in virtue of the merits of their good confession. The Church allowed a mitigation of penance for "peccata ad mortem," where letters of peace had been granted by confessors and martyrs, but nothing more: the absolution and reconciliation came through the official rulers, the heads of the Church. Although the letters of peace were not regarded as conveying pardon for sin, still they were not treated as mere recommendations, like the commendatory letters given to Christians when travelling from home, influential only on account of the respect due to the confessors. It is clear from St. Cyprian's letters that there was attributed to these intercessions of the martyrs for the lapsed a certain value in God's eyes; it is presumed that the Lord is moved to compassion towards sinners on the recommendation of the martyrs. The Bishop of Carthage writes to his clergy that those of the lapsed who have received letters of peace from martyrs, and may have been helped when fallen by these letters before the Lord, if in danger of death, may, after due penance and the laying on of hands, attain to God with the peace promised (not bestowed) to them by the marytrs.[1] In a previous letter, Cyprian had spoken

[1] *Epistula* XIX. 2 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 525): Quoniam tamen significastis quosdam immoderatos esse et ad communicationem accipiendam festinanter urguere, et desiderastis in hanc rem formam vobis a me dari, satis plene scripsisse me ad hanc rem

of those "qui libellos a martyribus acceperunt et prærogativa eorum apud Deum adjuvari possunt" (Ep. xviii., 1, ed. Hartel, II., 523). It is plain that these words are to be taken literally as referring to grace obtained from God for sinners by the martyrs, for in a passage of Cyprian's treatise on the lapsed, he inquires whether what the martyrs recommend is according to God's law or not contained in the law. If the former, it is to be assumed that the Lord wills it; but if the latter, one must first be sure that they have obtained what they asked from God and then act accordingly.[1] In respecting the recommendations of the martyrs, the rulers of the Church merely act as if carrying into effect what they know God has granted

proximis litteris ad vos factis credo, ut qui libellum a martyribus acceperunt et auxilio eorum adjuvari apud Dominum in delictis suis possunt, si premi infirmitate aliqua et periculo cœperint exomologesi facta et manu eis a vobis in pœnitentiam inposta cum pace a martyribus sibi promissa ad Dominum remittantur.

[1] CYPRIANUS, *De lapsis*, XVIII. (ed. HARTEL, I. p. 250): Sub ara Dei animæ occisorum martyrum clamant magna voce dicentes: "quousque, Domine sanctus et verus, non judicas et vindicas sanguinem nostram de his qui in terris inhabitant?" et requiescere ac patientiam tenere adhuc jubentur. Et quemquam posse aliquis existimat remittendis passim donandisque peccatis bonum fieri contra judicem velle aut prius quam vindicetur ipse alios posse defendere? Mandant aliquid martyres fieri: si justa, si licita, si non contra ipsum Dominum a Dei sacerdote facienda: sit obtemperantis facilis et prona consensio, si petentis fuerit religiosa moderatio. Mandant aliquid martyres fieri: si scripta non sunt in Domini lege quæ mandant, ante est ut sciamus illos de Domino inpetrasse quod postulant, tunc facere quod mandant. Neque enim statim videri potest divina majestate concessum quod fuerit humana pollicitatione promissum.

at the martyrs' request. Cyprian instructs the lapsed that the Saviour Who bore our sins, Whom God delivered up for our sins, alone can forgive sins, and so the Lord is to be appeased by the penance of the sinner. Yet at the same time he expresses the conviction that the merits of the martyrs and the good works of the just avail much with the Judge, but only when the day of judgment shall have come.[1] This delay agrees with what Cyprian says in other passages of his writings that the final retribution only takes place after the last judgment at the end of the world.[2] Still the fact remains that the merits of the martyrs cry to the Lord for grace and mercy for others. We may conclude from what has been said:—the recommendations of confessors and martyrs on behalf of notorious

[1] CYPRIANUS, *De lapsis*, XVII. (*ed. cit.* I. p. 249): Nemo se fallat nemo decipiat. Solus Dominus misereri potest. Veniam peccatis quæ in ipsum commissa sunt solus potest ille largiri qui peccata nostra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis nostris. Homo Deo major non potest esse, nec remittere aut donare indulgentia sua servus potest quod in Dominum delicto graviore commissum est, ne adhuc lapso et hoc accedat ad crimen, si nesciat esse prædictum: maledictus homo qui spem habet in hominem. Dominus orandus est, Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est qui negantem negare se dixit, qui omne judicium de patre solus accepit. Credimus quidem posse apud judicem plurimum martyrum merita et opera justorum, sed cum judicii dies venerit, cum post occasum sæculi hujus et mundi ante tribunal Christi populus ejus adstiterit. *Cf.* Cypr. *ep.* XVIII. 1 (*ed. cit.* II. 523); *ep.* XXVII. 1 (*ibid.* 540); inter Cypr. *ep.* XXI. 2 (*ibid.* 530). Dionysii Alex. *ep.* in Eusebius, *History of the Church*, VI. 42.

[2] *Cf.* ATZBERGER, *Eschatologie*, pp. 534 *et seq.*

sinners owed their influence to the belief that the merits of the martyrs sufficed before God on behalf of others, and so, by way of intercession, God's mercy could be obtained for them through these merits. The whole practice of receiving back the lapsed into Church communion on such recommendations is one of the ways in which the veneration of the glorious martyrs found expression.

This belief in the intercession of the martyrs for sinners assumes that their souls in the glory of heaven implore God's grace for Christians still living on earth. That this was the general conviction follows from the evidence already quoted. Origen compares the sacrifices of the mosaic law which seemed to obtain pardon of sin for the Israelites with the martyrs, whose souls do not at once appear before the heavenly altar, yet obtain forgiveness of sins for those who ask it. Only priests without blemish were, under the old covenant, admitted to the service of God, and they offered only sacrifices free from spot. Such a priest is now the Christian who stands fast by his confession of faith, and fully performs all that is implied in the term martyrdom.[1] Origen comforts his friend

[1] ORIGENES, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, XXX. (ed. KOETSCHAU, I. p. 26): Καὶ ἐπίστησον εἰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον βάπτισμα, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος καθάρσιον γέγονε τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἀυτὸ ἐπὶ πολλῶν θεραπείᾳ καθαιρομένων γίνεται. ὡς γὰρ οἱ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Μωϋσέως νόμον θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες διακονεῖν ἐδόκουν δι' αἵματος "τράγων καὶ ταύρων" ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκείνοις, οὕτως αἱ ψυχαὶ "τῶν τεπελεκισμένων" ἕνεκεν τῆς μαρτυρίας Ἰησοῦ, μὴ μάτην τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύουσαι, διακονοῦσι τοῖς εὐχομένοις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων . . . . ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ μὲν ἄμωμοι καὶ ἀμώμους προσφέροντες θυσίας ἐθεράπευον τὸ θεῖον, οἱ δὲ μεμωμημένοι μώμοις, οὓς ἀνέγραψε Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ Λευϊτικῷ, ἐξωρίζοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. τίς

Ambrose with the thought that in case he has to leave his children by suffering as a martyr, still they will prove themselves to be his true children by imitating his works: and they will do so, for Ambrose can help them more after such a death than if he were still alive with them. He will then love them with a more intelligent affection, and pray for them more wisely, if he learns that they are his children and not merely his seed.[1] The same conviction finds expression in the custom by which the faithful commended themselves to the martyrs after their condemnation to death, and besought them to remember them before God in the kingdom of heaven. We have evidence for this practice in several of the acts of the martyrs, such as the account of the martyrdom of SS. Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius, where it is said the brethren visited Fructuosus in prison exhorting and beseeching him to be mindful of them. A Christian called Felix seized Fructuosus by the hand as he was led into the amphitheatre and begged him to remember him, and the confessor made the characteristic reply: "I must remember the Catholic Church, which is spread from the East even to the West."[2] In the passion of SS.

δὲ ὁ ἄμωμος ἱερεὺς ἄμωμον ἱερεῖον προσφέρων ἢ ὁ κρατῶν τῆς ὁμολογίας καὶ πληρῶν πάντα ἀριθμὸν, ὃν ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ τοῦ μαρτυρίου λόγος; περὶ οὗ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω προειρήκαμεν.

[1] ORIGEN, *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, XXXVIII. (ed. KOETSCHAU, I. p. 36).

[2] *Acta ss. Fructuosi, Augurii et Eulogii* (RUINART, p. 265): . . . Qui mox ut venerunt, recepti sunt in carcerem. Fructuosus autem certus et gaudens de corona Domini, ad quam vocatus erat, orabat sine cessatione. Erat autem et fraternitas cum

Montanus and Lucius it is mentioned as a sign of the deepest humility that, when the brethren asked Lucius to be mindful of them, he implored their intercessions for himself.[1] Eusebius tells how in Cæsarea, during the Diocletian persecution, a virgin from Tyre, Theodosia, went up to some prisoners who had openly declared themselves to be Christians and were sitting before the law-court, in order "to express her sympathy for them, and, as is probable, to beg them to remember her when they appeared before the Lord." Whereupon Theodosia was herself seized and martyred.[2] Since the historian draws this conclusion from Theodosia's having approached the confessors, we must believe that this practice was generally observed in the Diocletian persecution. We can also see how great confidence the faithful placed in the power of the martyrs' prayers from the vision of Agapius, who prayed during his confession for two Christians, Tertulla and Antonia, that they too might attain to the glory of martyrdom. It was revealed to him that by a single prayer he had merited the answer to his request.[3]

ipso, refrigerantes et rogantes ut illos in mente haberet. . . . Qui (Fructuosus) cum se excalceasset, accessit ad eum commilito frater noster, nomine Felix, et apprehendit dexteram ejus, rogans ut sui memor esset. Cui sanctus Fructuosus cunctis audientibus clara voce respondit: "In mente me habere necesse est ecclesiam catholicam, ab oriente usque in occidentem diffusam."

[1] *Passio ss. Montani et Lucii*, 13 (ed. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, p. 79): Cui Lucio cum dicerent fratres: Memento nostri, Vos, inquit, mei mementote; quanta martyris humilitas, de gloria sua nec sut ipsa passione præsumere?

[2] Eusebius, De martyribus Palæst, 7.

[3] *Passio ss. Jacobi, Mariani, &c.*, 11 (Ruinart, *Acta sincera*,

The confidence of the faithful in the prayers of the martyrs did not cease when they had won their glorious victory over death and had become partakers of their heavenly crown; rather it became all the more intense. We can therefore conclude from what has already been said that at this date the Christians invoked the martyrs in heaven. If, as we have seen from the undoubted evidence of inscriptions, departed Christians who were considered to be in the enjoyment of blessedness with God were invoked by their surviving relatives, much more must this have been the case with regard to the martyrs, seeing how high a value was set upon their merits, and how deep the belief was that they certainly and immediately attained to a special rank in the celestial glory. It is no mere rhetorical flourish, but rather the expression of a practice widely observed among Christians, when Hippolytus in his commentary on Daniel breaks out into an apostrophe to the three holy children, who were regarded as martyrs by the Christians, calling upon them to be mindful of him.[1] The faithful were firmly convinced that God does not

p. 272): Tunc Agapius, qui jamdudum martyrio suo consummato fidei sacramenta perfecerat, qui et ipse, cum pro puellis duabus, Tertulla et Antonia, quas sibi carissimas ad vicem pignorum diligebat, repetitis frequenter precibus oraret ut secum et illæ Dei dignatione martyres fierent, retulerat meritorum suorum tali revelatione fiduciam: Quid assidue petis, quod una oratione meruisti? *Cf. Passio ss. Montani et Lucii*, 15 (ed. Pio Franchi, p. 80).

[1] HIPPOLYTUS, *Commentary on Daniel*, II. 30 (ed. BONWETSCH, I. pp. 98, 99): Εἴπατέ μοι τρεῖς παῖδες—μνήσθητέ μου, παρακαλῶ, ἵνα κἀγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κλῆρον τὸν τῆς μαρτυρίας λάχω,—τίς ἦν τέταρτος σὺν ὑμῖν.

leave unrequited the intercessions of the martyrs in heaven, and so the author of the work "De laude martyrii" turns confidently to the confessors with the prayer that, since they are in the kingdom of heaven, they will pray for him that he may one day be admitted to behold their glory.[1] We shall see at the end of this chapter how in the third century the faithful commended the souls of the departed to the martyrs, and we must conclude from this that in their own petitions they invoked the intercession of the martyrs. Finally, this belief underlies those representations of the judgment which we find among the paintings in the catacombs dating from the third century. The type of these representations is as follows: Christ sits as judge upon a throne, a roll in His left hand, and His right outstretched in the attitude of one who speaks; before Him stands the departed soul as an "orans"; near the judge we see

[1] *De laude martyrii*, 30 (ed. HARTEL, *Cypriani Opp. Appendix*, p. 51): Itaque, carissimi fratres, licet sit hoc totum dominicæ promissionis et muneris licetque tribuatur ex alto nec capiatur nisi ejus imperio, sed nec aut mente concipi aut exprimi verbis aut oratione percurri aut quibuslibet eloquentiæ viribus possit inpleri: tamen erit hoc benivolentiæ vestræ, erit caritatis et amoris, si volueritis nostri memores esse cum in vobis Dominus martyrium cœperit honorare. Vos intra se sanctum illud altare, vos intra se magna illa venerandi nominis sedes veluti sinu quodam gremii amplectentes includit, vos imperia perennis temporis sustinent et illud quod regnaturi semper estis et victuri. . . . Ibit ante ora ejus (Christi) felix caterva victorum et se densantibus turmis velut solis exortu totum inluminatum agmen inferet potestatem, et utinam per-abjecto aliquando istud mihi videre contingat: sed hoc Dominus poterit efficere qui vobis petentibus creditur non negare.

two saints, who appear as intercessors for the departed.[1] These scenes exhibit on the one hand the confidence which believers placed in the intercession of the saints with God, and, on the other, we can conclude from them that Christians in life commended themselves to the saints, in order to gain through their intercessions grace and mercy from the judge in the hour of death and judgment.

The worship of the martyrs is no less apparent in religious practices of a private character than in the liturgical celebrations by which the Church honoured their memory. We have seen how in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom his commemoration was annually celebrated on the day of his death. This is the earliest evidence we possess for the existence of a practice general in the third century. Tertullian, as we shall see in the next chapter, refers to the celebration in commemoration of the departed as forming part of the common practice of the Church, and it follows obviously that this practice was not omitted on the day of a martyr's death. In St. Cyprian's time, and probably earlier, the celebration in memory of the martyrs had a special character of its own, for he distinguishes the "memoriæ martyrum" as something special, since in writing to the clergy of Carthage he directs that the days on which the confessors died are to be noted, in order that "their

[1] *Cf.* WILPERT, *Les scènes du jugement sur les peintures des catacombes romaines* (Compte-rendu du IIe. Congrès scient. internat. des catholiques, Paris 1892). DERS., *Die Malereien der Sakramentskapellen in der Katacombe des heil. Callixtus*, Freiburg i. B. pp. 13 *et seqq.*

commemorations can be celebrated among the memorials of the martyrs." He directs that Tertullus shall inform him of the days on which the confessors died in prison, and states that he will offer the holy sacrifice in their memory in his place of retreat.[1] On another occasion, St. Cyprian alludes to this practice, saying that by sacrifice an annual commemoration is celebrated in memory of the sufferings and of the day of the martyrs' deaths.[2] For the East the life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus bears witness to the tradition that in his days an annual celebration took place in commemoration of the burial of the

[1] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula*, XII. 2 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 503): Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt adnotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus: quamquam Tertullus fidelissimus ac devotissimus frater noster inter cetera sollicitudine et cura quam fratribus in omni obsequio operationis inpertit, qui nec illic circa curam corporum deest, scripserit et scribat ac significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt, et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum Domino protegente celebrabimus.

[2] CYPRIANUS, *Epist.* XXXIX. 3 (*ed. cit.* II. 583): Nec rudis iste aut novus est in Celerino carissimo nostro titulus gloriarum. Per vestigia cognationis suæ graditur, parentibus ac propinquis suis honore consimili divinæ dignationis æquatur. . . Patruus et avunculus Laurentinus et Egnatius in castris et ipsi quondam sæcularibus militantes, sed veri et spiritates Dei milites, dum diabolum Christi confessione prosternunt, palmas Domini et coronas inlustri passione meruerunt. Sacrificia pro eis semper ut meministis, offerimus, quotiens martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus. Nec degener ego esse nec minor poterat quem sic domesticis exemplis virtutis ac fidei provocabat familiæ dignitas et generosa nobilitas.

remains of the martyrs.[1] We can also appeal to the evidence of the Emperor Constantine in his "Oratio ad sanctum cœtum" as a witness for the previous period, since the practices alluded to were certainly not of recent introduction. He mentions the singing of hymns in praise of God, the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice in memory of the martyrs, the burning of lights openly at the grave or in the Church in which the grave was situated, and the agape at which the poor and strangers were fed.[2] The offering of the eucharistic sacrifice in memory of the martyrs is expressly mentioned by St. Cyprian in both passages already quoted. The psalms, passages of scripture, and prayers were naturally chosen with reference to the feast, and in some way the martyr was commemorated in whose memory the feast was held. At the burial and annual commemoration of the martyrs the agape took place, as was customary at the burial of the faithful. The meals at the tombs of the martyrs, against which the rulers of the Church had to raise their voice in the fourth century, were survivals of the agape of the earlier

[1] GREGOR. NYSS., *Vita s. Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, 27 (ed. MIGNE, P. G. xlvi. 953): Καὶ διαλαβόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ τῶν μαρτύρων τὰ σώματα, κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον τοῦ ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου περίοδον συνιόντες, ἠγάλλοντο τῇ τιμῇ τῶν μαρτύρων πανηγυρίζοντες.

[2] CONSTANTINUS, *Oratio ad sanctum cœtum*, 12 (ed. VALESIUS, i. 627 *et seq.*): "Ὕμνοι δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ εὐφημίαι· καὶ πρὸς τῶν πάντων ἐπύπτην ἔπαινος. Καὶ τοιαύτη τις εὐχαριστίας θυσία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀποτελεῖται, ἁγνὴ μὲν αἵματος, ἁγνὴ δε πάσης βίας· οὐδὲ μὴν ὀσμὴ λιβάνων ἐπιποθεῖται, οὐδὲ πυρκαϊά. καθαρὸν δὲ φῶς, ὅσον ἐξαρκέσαι προς ἔκλαμψιν τοῖς ἐυχομένοις, σωφρονέστατά τε πολλῶν καὶ τὰ συμπόσια, πρὸς ἔλεον καὶ ἀνάκτησιν τῶν δεομένων ποιούμενα, καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων.

period.[1] The celebrations in honour of the martyrs described in the "Oratio ad sanctum cœtum" belong in all essentials to the period before Constantine.

The commemoration of the departed was celebrated, at least among the larger Christian communities, in a building, specially erected for the purpose, close to the grave itself.[2] Owing to the intense veneration in which the martyrs were held, their grave was in itself regarded as a sanctuary—and naturally so. The common sentiment of mankind is to set a high value on whatever is closely connected with a deeply venerated personality and forceably recalls his memory. And so with regard to the departed, and especially the martyrs, it was their tombs which were held in honour, because they contained the remains of the bodies which had suffered torture and death for the faith. On account of the veneration in which the bodily remains of the martyrs were held, the Roman clergy urgently enjoined the duty of burying the bodies of the martyrs and other Christians.[3] The faithful frequently sought for articles which had touched the martyr's body, or had been dipped in his blood, and preserved them as precious memorials.

[1] *Cf.* especially DE ROSSI, *Roma sotterranea*, II. pp. 488-507.

[2] KIRSCH, *Die christlichen Cultusbegäude im Altertum. Cologne* 1893, pp. 19 *et seqq.: Die Cœmeterialkirchen in der vorconstantinischen Zeit.*

[3] *Epistula* VIII. *inter Cypr.* 3 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 488): Et quod maximum est, corpora martyrum aut ceterorum si non sepeliantur, grande periculum imminet eis quibus incumbit hoc opus. Cujuscumque ergo vestrum quacumque occasione fuerit effectum hoc opus, certi sumus eum bonum servum æstimari, ut qui in minimo fidelis fuit constituatur super decem civitates.

When Cyprian was led into the prætorium to be condemned, and was sitting in a room therein, a soldier, formerly a Christian, asked the bishop to change his clothes, because all his garments were saturated with sweat. The author of the life interprets this to mean that the soldier desired to possess himself of the sweat, already bloody on account of the approaching martyrdom—a proof of the spread of veneration for relics of the martyrs.[1] Saturus, one of the companions of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, asked a soldier Pudens to give him a ring which he wore on his finger, dipped it in his bleeding wound, and gave it back to Pudens "as a pledge and memorial of his blood."[2] The desire of the faithful to possess some memorial of a martyr is illustrated in the acts of St. Fructuosus and his companions. St. Fructuosus ended his life on the pyre, and some Christians had taken part of his ashes to preserve them a treasured memorial of the holy martyr. But Fructuosus appeared to them and warned them to

[1] *Vita Cypriani*, 16 (HARTEL, III. p. cviii.): Cum (Cyprianus) post iter longum nimio sudore madidatus sederet . . . quidam ex tesserariis quondam Christianus res suas obtulit, quasi vellet ille vestimentis suis humidis sicciora mutare; videlicet nihil aliud in rebus oblatis ambiebat, quam ut proficientis ad Deum martyris sudores jam sanguineos possideret. Cui ille respondit et dixit: Medellas adhibemus querelis, quæ hodie fortisan non erunt.

[2] *Passio ss. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, 21 (ed. PIO FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, p. 146): Saturus . . . Pudenti militi inquit: Vale, inquit, memor fidei et mei, et hæc te non conturbant, sed confirmant, simulque ansulam de digito ejus petiit, et vulneri suo mersam reddidit ei hereditatem, pignus relinquens illi et memoriam sanguinis.

take them back, and to bury all the remains of his body without delay in one place.[1] We have here an instance of what long remained the custom in the West, *i.e.*, that all the parts of the martyred body must be buried together after the martyr's death, and no part, however small, must be separated from the body as a relic. These examples from the third century disclose the beginning of that veneration for relics which had later so deep an influence on the religious life of the faithful.

A proof of the confidence which the faithful placed in the intercession of the martyrs is given first of all by the practice of invoking them on behalf of the departed whose souls were commended to them. At the same time, this practice throws light on the belief of Christians touching the condition of souls in the world to come, for obviously they must have been convinced of the possibility of souls having knowledge of one another in the future life, else were it inconceivable that the martyrs in heaven could entreat God for the souls of the departed commended to them by the faithful. This commendation of departed souls to the martyrs is to be found in the monuments

[1] *Acta ss. Fructuosi, Augurii et Eulogii* (RUINART, p. 267 : . . . Igitur post passionem apparuit (Fructuosus) fratribus, et monuit, ut quod unusquisque per caritatem de cineribus usurpaverat, restituerent sine mora, uno quoque in loco simul condendos curarent. We may here mention that Lucilla of Carthage, who used to kiss the bone of a martyr not officially recognised before she communicated, when reproved for it by the bishop, was incensed against him and became a ringleader of the Donatists.

of the Roman catacombs.[1] In two Roman inscriptions of the third century, the departed is commended in general terms to "the spirits of the saints." Upon that placed over the grave of a boy two years old called Paul, we read: "In pacem te suscipian(t) omnium ispirita sanctorum."[2]

The other most probably runs as follows: "Leopardum in pacem cum spirita sancta, acceptum cum habeatis innocentem."[3]

The idea is that the "saints" in the other world—and in the third century these were principally the apostles and martyrs—could receive among them the souls of the departed, *i.e.*, could commend them to God, so that He admitted them into His heavenly kingdom. It was especially the martyrs who reposed in the same cemetery which contained the grave of the departed who were invoked to protect his soul. There are three epitaphs found in the catacomb of Hermes on the Via Salaria vetus in which the departed is commended to the holy martyr Basilla, who is buried there. One runs as follows:[4]

> Somno heternali.
> Aurelius Gemellus qui bixit an . . .

[1] *Cf.* KIRSCH, *Die Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristlichen Grabschriften*, pp. 37 *et seqq.*

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di arch. crist.* 1875, p. 19.

[3] FABRETTI, *Inscriptiones domesticæ*, p. 574, No. lxi. The original is in the Lateran museum, cl. IX. No. 32. For the restoration of the very faulty text, *Cf.* Kirsch *op. cit.* p. 39.

[4] PERRET, *Catacombes*, V. pl. xxix. 71; DE ROSSI, *Bullettino*, 1875, p. 29. The original is in the Lateran museum, cl. VIII. No. 16.

et menses VIII. dies XVIII. ; mater filio
carissimo benæmerenti fecit in pa(ce) ;
conmando, Basila, innocentia(m) Gemelli.

Aurelius Gemellus died as a boy in the age of innocence, and so his mother commended "the innocence of Gemellus" to St. Basilla.

The other, also from a child's grave, is as follows :[1]

Domina Basilla, com-
mandamus tibi, Cres-
centinus et Micina,
filia(m) nostra(m) Crescen . . .
que vixit men(ses) X. et d(i)es . . .

The parents, Crescentinus and Micina, commend their little daughter Crescen(tina) to St. Basilla.

Both inscriptions belong to the third century. From the fourth century we have some closely resembling them in which Basilla, the martyrs Januarius, Agapitus, and Felicissimas, St. Hippolytus and St. Lawrence are besought to refresh the departed souls or to receive them into bliss.

Similar inscriptions of the fourth century have come down to us from other localities.[2] We can prove accordingly the beginning of this practice in the third century, and it survived among Christian people in the succeeding period.

A number of paintings in the Roman catacombs from the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth owe their origin to the same idea. In them we behold the introduction of a departed soul

[1] JACUTIUS, *De Bonosæ et Mennæ titulo*, p. 51. The original is also preserved in the Lateran museum, cl. VIII. No. 17.

[2] *Cf.* KIRSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 *et seqq.*, pp. 42-46.

into the heavenly kingdom. They can be divided into two groups. In one, we usually see the soul of the departed standing as an "orans" on a flowery meadow between two trees, a saint on either hand, frequently St. Peter and St. Paul, who stretch out their hands in blessing towards the "orans" to take him under their protection.[1] In the other group, the departed is equally represented as an "orans," but the introduction into heaven is differently indicated. For instance, in a painting in the catacomb of Domitilla belonging to the fourth century, Petronilla lays her right arm on the shoulder of the departed Veneranda, and with her left hand points to the roll of the holy scriptures in a chest on the ground.[2] In this connection it is well to recall the representation of the judgment referred to above, in which the apostles and other saints appear as advocates (advocati, defensores) of departed souls.

There was all the more reason why the faithful should invoke the martyrs on behalf of the departed since in the third century we often find it stated in the religious literature of the West that both the martyrs and apostles will not be judged at the final judgment, but will appear with Christ as judges. Thus Hippolytus exhorts Christians who were dragged before the law-courts for the Lord's name to pray

[1] See the examples in GARRUCCI, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, II. plate 53, 2 ; 55, 2, on the left above ; 59, 1.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di arch. crist.* 1875, plate I. I do not delay over these monuments since they are dealt with as a whole in the work of C. M. KAUFMANN, *Die sepulcralen Jenseits-denkmäler der Antike und des Urchristenthums*, Mainz. Kirchheim, 1900.

God that they may depart this life as martyrs, for then they shall not be judged but shall judge, since they have part in the first resurrection.[1] The same belief appears in Origen and Cyprian. The former, in his "Exhortation to Martyrdom," interprets certain passages of scripture to mean that whoever has drunk Christ's chalice shall be enthroned and reign and judge along with the King of Kings.[2] St. Cyprian tells the confessors languishing in prison, when exhorting them to stand fast, that they shall rule and reign with Christ the Lord, applying to the martyrs the words of holy scripture (Wisd. III., 4-8): "et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt, spes eorum immortalitate plena est . . . judicabunt nationes et dominabuntur populis et regnabit Dominus eorum in perpetuum."[3] And in order to urge the confessors to proceed with wisdom and caution in recommending the reconciliation of the lapsed, he reminds them that they are the Lord's friends, and will later on judge with Him.[4]

[1] HIPPOLYTUS, *Commentary on Daniel*, II. 37 (ed. BONWETSCH, I. pp. 112 *et seq.*): . . . ὥστε εὐχέσθω ὁ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος προσφερόμενος οἵῳ δήποτε τρόπῳ μαρτυρήσας ἐξελθεῖν. οὗτος γὰρ οὐκέτι οὐδὲ κρίνεται ἀλλὰ κρινεῖ, μέρος ἴδιον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀναστάσει ἔχων.

[2] ORIG. *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, 28.

[3] CYPRIAN, *ep.* VI. (ed. HARTEL, II. 481).

[4] CYPRIAN, *Epistula* XV. 3 (*ed. cit.* II. 515): Cyprianus martyribus et confessoribus carissimis fratribus S . . . Et quoniam audio, fortissimi et carissimi fratres, impudentia vos quorundam premi et verecundiam vestram vim pati, oro vos quibus possum precibus ut evangelii memores et considerantes quæ et qualia in præteritum antecessores vestri martyres concesserint, quam solliciti in omnibus fuerint, vos quoque sollicite et caute petentium desideria ponderetis, utpote amici Domini et cum illo postmodum judicaturi inspiciatis et actum et opera

This idea throws fresh light upon the relation of the martyrs to the other believers. It must have tended to greatly increase the veneration shown to the martyrs, and to deepen confidence in their protection, when a direct influence was conceded to them in regard to the final admission of members of the Church to the heavenly kingdom at the end of the world. The influence of such an opinion was all the stronger because frequently, as we see from St. Cyprian's writings, the end of the world was considered to be close at hand.[1] The appearance of such representations of the judgment as we had mentioned above among the paintings in the catacombs fits in well with this conception.

And so in the third century we find all the essential parts of the veneration for martyrs who witness to the faith by their death. The fathers of the Church and the faithful laity regarded them as the perfect followers of the Lord and elect friends of God, who attained at once to a special degree of glory in heaven. They were credited after death with the power of protecting by their intercessions with God Christians both living and departed, of obtaining by their recommendation, while still undergoing sufferings, the reconciliation of notorious sinners, their merits before God being reckoned as compensation for the

et merita singulorum, ipsorum quoque delictorum genera et qualitates cogitetis, ne si quid abrupte et indigne vel a vobis promissum vel a nobis factum fuerit, apud gentiles quoque ipsos ecclesia nostra erubescere incipiat.

[1] *Cf.* CYPRIAN, *ad Fortunatum*, 1 (ed. HARTEL, I. 317); *epist.* LVIII. 1 (*ed. cit.* II. 656); *epist.* LIX. 13 (*ibid.* 682); 18 (*ibid.* 689); *epist.* LXVII. 7-8 (*ibid.* 741).

sinner's penance. Their protection was sought and they were invoked to intercede with God on behalf both of the faithful on earth and the faithful departed. Their memory was held in honour, their tombs and whatever recalled their glorious death were objects of veneration. The Church celebrates in a special manner the annual remembrance of their death by a liturgical celebration, the "memoriæ martyrum." All these elements combine to form the essence of the worship of the martyrs, which received a still greater impulse in the fourth century.

CHAPTER IV

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

THE belief that the faithful on earth could obtain help from God by their prayers for the departed both immediately after death and even subsequently, finds manifold expression in the period between the end of the second century and the beginning of the fourth. It is naturally closely connected with the views held concerning the state of the departed in the future life. In all prominent writers of the period who touch upon the question, and in several of the acts of the martyrs, we find it taught that there is a future purification of the sin-stained soul, although the way in which it is effected, and in what it actually consists, where it begins and ends, are differently regarded according to the views held by each father on eschatological questions as a whole. This doctrine has all the greater claim to Catholicity, since the writers who give expression to it belong to different parts of the Church. In Rome, we have Hippolytus, whose opinion that Hades is the abode of both the just and unjust, the two classes of souls being, however, in very different states of existence, still bears as a whole upon the point in question.[1] The doctrine of purgatorial fire appears fully developed, on the other hand, in the Alexandrian and African writers, as well

[1] ATZBERGER, *Christl. Eschatologie*, pp. 275 *et seqq.*

as in the acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas belonging to the beginning of the third century.[1] Belief, too, in the eternal punishment of the lost found its support in the teaching of our Lord and His apostles, from which Christians endeavoured to escape by being true to their faith and living a virtuous Christian life. We also frequently meet with the view that the glory of heaven admits of various degrees, so that souls will share more or less completely in its blessedness. Some Fathers, such as Irenæus and Tertullian, and probably also Hippolytus, hold chiliastic views. For instance, Irenæus teaches expressly that Christ will return to reign for a thousand years on the earth, and Tertullian speaks in several passages of the "prima resurrectio," in which the elect will have part.[2] Again, in Origen's opinion, the evil spirits attack souls as they leave the body. Yet departed souls may be protected and helped in many ways by God's merciful intervention. It was the object of prayers for the dead to obtain this assistance from the Lord even when it is not stated in so many words. The mere fact that people prayed for the dead necessarily implies they were convinced such prayers were of assistance to the departed. These views which we have briefly described concerning the

[1] ATZBERGER, *op. cit.* pp. 307 *et seq.* (Tertullian); pp. 358 *et seqq.* Clement of Alexandria); pp. 402 *et seqq.* (Origen); pp. 536 *et seq.* (Cyprian). For the whole question, *Cf.* BAUTZ, *Das Fegfeuer* (1883).

[2] ATZBERGER, *op. cit.* pp. 256 *et seqq.* (Irenæus); pp. 309 *et seq.* (Tertullian). Concerning the "prima resurrectio" in which only the perfect have part, *cf.* ORIGEN, *in Jeremiam hom.* II. 3 (ed. MIGNE), P. G. XIII. 230 *et seq.*

future life and the condition of souls after death, give us a general idea of what was in the mind of the faithful in offering up intercessions to God for the dead, or, as we have said above, in commending them to the martyrs.

In a passage very difficult of interpretation, Clement of Alexandria speaks of the relation between the perfect gnostic Christian, and those who are undergoing discipline after death. He states that the gnostic despises what the world offers as beautiful, he sympathises with those who after death suffer chastisement, and so by suffering unwillingly acknowledge their sin, he lives with a good conscience, ready to depart from the world since he is a stranger to all the world offers.[1] The whole idea seems bound up with the belief in the purification of the souls, with whom the gnostic Christian sympathises, from the stains of sin in the future life. How he manifests this sympathy is not explained by Clement, though he seems by it to maintain the relation between perfect believers on earth and suffering souls in the world to come.

Tertullian is the first writer who furnishes us with particulars concerning prayers for the dead. From him we learn that a priest offered up prayers between the death and burial of a Christian. He tells us, for instance, how a dead woman raised her arms during

[1] CLEMEN ALEX., *Stromata*, XII. 78 (ed. DINDORF, III. 319): . . . Οὗτος περισπώμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐλπίδος οὐ γεύεται τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ καλῶν, πάντων τῶν ἐνταῦθα καταμεγαλοφρονῶν, οἰκτείρων τοὺς μετὰ θάνατον παιδευομένους διὰ τῆς κολάσεως ἀκουσίως ἐξομολογουμένους, εὐσυνείδητος πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ ἀεὶ ἕτοιμος ὢν, ὡς ἂν παρεπίδημος καὶ ξένος τῶν τῇδε κληρονομημάτων.

these prayers, and replaced them in their former position after the prayer for peace was concluded.[1] The manner in which he alludes to the priests' prayers shows that he is speaking of the usual practice. We find the priest at the conclusion prayed for peace, for "condita pace" signifies "after the conclusion of the prayer for peace," which agrees with what we have already said (p. 40) concerning the ejaculation "Pax tecum." As the circumstances imply, it was a prayer for the welfare of the departed soul in the future state. We may assume from what we know of ancient liturgical practices that the Christians present at the burial took part in these prayers.

Moreover, the eucharistic sacrifice was offered for the dead at the burial, and, as a rule, on its anniversary. Evidence for this practice is found in Tertullian and Cyprian. A comparison of the passages in both writers shows that the "oblationes pro defunctis" in Tertullian (see below, p. 128) can mean nothing else than the eucharistic sacrifice. For Cyprian plainly alludes to the practice mentioned by Tertullian, when he informs us that his predecessors in the see of Carthage had decreed that if a believer had appointed a cleric as executor of his will, or as guardian, no offering must be made for him and the "sacrificium pro dormitione ejus" must not be offered

[1] TERTULLIAN, *De anima*, LI. (ed. OEHLER, II. 637); Scio feminam quandam vernaculam ecclesiæ, forma et aetate integra functam, post unicum et breve matrimonium cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura interim oratione presbyteri componeretur, ad primum halitum orationis manus a lateribus dimotas in habitum supplicem conformasse rursumque condita pace situi suo redidisse.

for him.[1] That the reference can only be to the eucharistic sacrifice is clear from the terms used by St. Cyprian in drawing up this decree. Whoever calls away priests and ministers from the altar deserves not to have his name mentioned in the prayer of the priest (or bishop) at the altar. The same thing follows, moreover, from Cyprian's remarks in speaking of the oblations and prayers which were to be offered by the faithful in the congregation (or church) for the Christians in question. All this can only refer to the eucharist, and since the decree had been promulgated by Cyprian's predecessors, who lived in the period between Cyprian and Tertullian, we must understand the "oblationes pro defunctis" mentioned by the latter as referring to the same practices which Cyprian speaks of.[2]

It is important to observe the connection in which Tertullian speaks of these oblations. His object is to

[1] CYPRIANUS, *Epistula*, I. 2 (ed. HARTEL, II. p. 466): Quod episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes et salubriter providentes censuerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offeretur pro eo nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece qui ab altari sacerdotes et ministros voluit avocari. Et ideo Victor cum contra formam nuper in concilio a sacerdotibus datam Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus est tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur, ut sacerdotum decretum religiose et necessarie factum servetur a nobis, simul et ceteris fratribus detur exemplum, ne quis sacerdotes et ministros Dei altari ejus et ecclesiæ vacantes ad sæcularem molestiam devocet.

[2] *Cf.* PROBST, *Kirchliche Disciplin in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, pp. 301-303.

give examples to show that not everything which has been observed in the Church from early days requires to be supported by written authorities, but that ancient tradition is of itself a sufficient sanction for ecclesiastical practice. Among these examples he quotes the oblations for the dead on the annual recurrence of their "birthday," *i.e.*, to eternal life.[1] This obviously points to the conclusion that this practice was in existence in the middle of the second century, and was not limited to Carthage and North Africa. For it is difficult to conceive that a Christian practice which Tertullian quotes in justification of ecclesiastical tradition did not exist in other churches —in the Church of Rome especially, whence probably Christianity came to Africa. Since in the East during the fourth century we also find references to the offering of the sacrifice on the anniversaries of deceased Christians, without any mention of the introduction of the practice in this period, we may safely conclude that the practice was followed in the period before Constantine.

[1] TERTULLIAN, *De corona*, III. (ed. OEHLER, I. 420, 422): Hanc si nulla scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit. Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo quæramus an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine illius scripturæ instrumento solius traditionis titulo et exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus. . . . Oblationes pro defunctis pro nataliciis annua die facimus. In two other passages, Tertullian alludes to the custom "annuis diebus dormitionis offerre," *i.e.*, *De monogamia* 10, and *De exhortatione castitatis*, 11 (*see below*).

From another point of view, the expressions used by St. Cyprian in the passages quoted above are worthy of notice. It appears that the name of the departed was mentioned in the prayer of the sacrificing priest or bishop at the eucharist, and that prayers in his name were offered up by all in the assembly of the faithful. From this we learn in what sense the oblation was offered for the dead—he was remembered especially by name in the prayers. There can be no doubt that these prayers were such as suited the occasion, and were offered up for the welfare of the departed souls in the future state, in conformity with the views described at the beginning of this chapter.

The relatives of the deceased, without doubt, took part in the prayers of the priest at the funeral, and in the eucharistic celebrations which accompanied it and were repeated on its anniversary. But they prayed also in private for the peace and welfare of the departed. This is plainly indicated by Tertullian when, in his desire to hinder widows and widowers from marrying again, he shows them how they must present offerings for two wives or husbands on the anniversary of the death, *i.e.*, participate in the eucharistic celebration, and pray for the souls of the departed. The terms used in this passage to denote intercessions are important in showing the sense in which these prayers were made. In one place, Tertullian writes that the wife "prays for the soul of the departed, imploring refreshment for him, and a place in the first resurrection."[1] "Refreshment"

[1] TERTULLIAN, *De monogamia*, X. (ed. OEHLER, I. p. 776): Ipsam denique interrogo feminam: Dic mihi, soror, in pace præ-

(refrigerium), a term often employed to denote eternal blessedness, is taken from the figure of a meal, by which the joys of heaven are frequently symbolized. It is implied that in all probability the departed does not yet partake of the heavenly banquet, but suffers symbolically hunger and thirst (*cf.* below St. Perpetua's vision). Accordingly, prayer was made to God for the cessation of this state of suffering and the admission of the soul to the joys of heaven. The prayer for a share in the first resurrection is connected with the view held by Tertullian and Origen that the saints will rise first, and the others only later (*cf.* above, p. 124). The widow who prays for her husband is persuaded that by her prayers she can assist the departed in obtaining from God the grace to partake in the first resurrection. Tertullian reminds the widower who intends to marry a second wife that he prays for his dead wife, that he will appear before the Lord with as many wives as he commemorates (commemorare) in his prayer, and that he offers for two, and commends (commemorare) them both by means of the priest.[1]

misisti virum tuum? Quid respondebit? An in discordia? Ergo hoc magis ei vincta est cum quo habet apud Deum causam. Non discessit quæ tenetur. Sed in pace? Ergo perseveret in ea cum illo necesse est quem jam repudiare non poterit, ne sic quidem nuptura, si repudiare potuisset. Enimvero et pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus. Nam hæc nisi fecerit, vere repudiavit, quantum in ipsa est, et quidem hoc iniquius, quanto quomodo potuit, quia non potuit, et hoc indignius, quanto jam indignius, si quia non meruit. Cap. XI. (*ibid.* p. 778): Et orabis pro maritis tuis, novo et vetere. Elige cui te adulteram præstes. Puto ambobus.

[1] TERTULLIAN, *De exhortatione castitatis*, XI. (ed. OEHLER,

All these expressions point to prayers offered up to God for the welfare of the dead, and leave no doubt that such prayers were in use among the faithful both at the celebration of the liturgy and in their private devotions. Further evidence to the same effect is given by the inscriptions of the third century.

The well known episode in the acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas, in which Perpetua relates a vision illustrating in a striking manner Tertullian's words, shows what was the popular belief in North Africa.[1]

St. Perpetua had a brother called Dinocrates, who was seven years old when he died of a cancer in the face, which filled everyone with horror who beheld it. Now it happened that a few days after their condemnation, as she was praying in company with the holy confessors, she mentioned the name of Dinocrates aloud without his having been in her thoughts. She took this as a sign that she ought to pray for him, which she did with many sighs. The following night she had a vision. She

I. p. 753): Duplex enim rubor est, quia in secundo matrimonio duæ uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in carne. Neque enim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reservas affectionem, ut jam receptæ apud dominum, pro cujus spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad dominum cum tot uxoribus, quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus, et commemorabis illas duas per sacerdotem de monogamia ordinatum aut etiam de virginitate sancitum, circumdatum viduis univiris? Et ascendet sacrificium tuum libera fronte, et inter cetera bonæ mentis postulabis tibi et uxori castitatem?

[1] *Cf.* PROBST, *Lehre und Gebet in den drei ersten christl. Jahrhunderten*, p. 335.

saw Dinocrates emerging from a dark place where were many others. He seemed to suffer much from heat and thirst, and looked pale and sickly, and he had still the wound in his face from which he had died. She prayed for him, but, as there was a great space separating him from her, they could not get to one another. Close by him was a large urn full of water, the brim so high above his head that he tried in vain to reach up to drink out of it. This distressed Perpetua, and she awoke with the conviction that her brother was in pain, yet felt full confidence that God would hear the fervent prayers which she daily offered up for her brother's soul. Night and day she prayed for him with tears.

One day as they sat in the stocks she saw again the same place which she had seen so gloomy now full of light, and in it she saw Dinocrates looking healthy, well clad and happy. Where the wound had been there was only a scar. The brim of the urn now came only to the boy's waist, and on it stood a drinking cup from which he drank without the water being exhausted. He turned away to amuse himself like a child, and Perpetua knew he was delivered from punishment.[1] This vision plainly shows that the faithful on earth were fully convinced that they could assist with their prayers such souls as were being purified by suffering in the future state.

The same belief prompted the numerous epitaphs which express prayers and wishes for the happiness

[1] *Passio ss. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, VII.-VIII. (ed. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, pp. 118 *et seqq.*).

of departed souls in the world to come.[1] We find, first of all, on some monuments an exhortation to the faithful to remember in their prayers him who rests beneath the stone, such as in the very early epitaph of Agape (see above, p. 41). Such is the conclusion of the epitaph of Abercios which has given rise to so much discussion in recent years, of the Christian character of which I have no doubt: —Ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὔξαιθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνῳδός.[2]

(May he who agrees with me and understands this, pray for Abercios.)

An inscription, unfortunately fragmentary, from the catacomb of St. Priscilla, almost contemporary with Tertullian, concludes with the wish that the faithful should pray that the departed may live for ever: " . . . petatis . . . (ætern)um ut vivat in ævum."[3]

To the end of the third century, or to the beginning of the fourth, belongs the following epitaph from one of the Roman catacombs, which is important because in it the husband expressly states his reason for setting up the inscription, *i.e.*, that his fellow-Christians may be moved to pray for the departed. It runs as follows:—

[1] As I have dealt at length with this point in my pamphlet, *Die Acclamationen und Gebete der altchristlichen Grabschriften* (Cologne, 1897), a few general remarks may be sufficient here.

[2] *Cf.* KAUFMANN, *Die sepulcralen Jenseitsdenkmäler* (Mainz, 1900), pp. 78 *et seqq.*, where references will be found to the latest literature on the subject.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di arch. christ.* 1886, pp. 52 *et seq.*

D. P.
Lucifere conjugi dulcissime omnem
dulcitudinem, cum luctu maximo
marito reliquisset, meruit titulum
inscribi ut quisque de fratribus legeret, roget Deu(m)
ut sancto et innocenti spirito ad Deum suscipiatur.

Above, at the edge, is the age of the departed: Que vixit annos XXII., mes. n. IV., dies VI.[1]

The ejaculations and prayers in the epitaphs of the third century show us what was the object of the faithful in praying for the dead, and what were the benefits they desired for them. First and foremost it was *peace* for the departed that they implored in various terms. One inscription which reminds us of the "condita pace" in Tertullian (see above, p. 126) from San Callisto runs:—

In pace spiritus Silvani. Amen.[2]

A similar inscription is in the Lateran Museum (cl. IX., 28):—Φιλουμένη, ἐν εἰρήνῃ σου τὸ πνεῦμα.

Somewhat fuller is the conclusion of an epitaph, restored by de Rossi:—

(Det illis au)tem Deus et Dominus (Jesus pace)m æternalem.[3]

[1] De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1877, p. 31; Wilpert, *Cyclus christologischer Gemälde*, plate IX. 7, p. 50. The original is in the Lateran museum, cl. IX. No. 10. The text is to be read as follows: Depositio. Luciferæ conjugi dulcissimæ omnem dulcitudinem; cum luctum maximum marito reliquisset, meruit titulum inscribi, ut quisque de fratribus legerit, roget Deum ut sanctus et innocens spiritus ad Deum suscipiatur. Quæ vixit annos XXII. meuses numero IV. dies VI.

[2] De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, II. plate xlix. 6.

[3] De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1892, p. 150.

After the end of the second century we find the wish and prayer for the *refreshment* (refrigerium) of the departed soul, *e.g.*, in the following text :—

> Parentes . . . Paulinæ filiæ dulcissimæ, cujus spiritum in refrigerium suscipiat Dominus.[1]

Another runs in the same way :—

> Kalemere, Deus refrigeret spiritum tuum una cum sororis tuæ Hilare.[2]

That these wishes are to be regarded as actual prayers appears from the following fragment in which the petition is addressed to God : "Refrigera, Deus, animan Hom. . . . "[3]

In the same way other inscriptions express the wish that the souls of the departed may be received by God, may live in God or in Christ, may rest in peace or in God, may be in felicity (bonum).[4]

Two more interesting inscriptions may serve as the conclusion to this chapter. One of them remains in its original position in the burial place of the Acilii in the catacomb of St. Priscilla, and runs as follows :

Ὁ πατὴρ τῶν πάντων, οὓς ἐποιήσης καὶ παρελάβης Εἰρηνην, Ζόην καὶ Μαρκέλλον. Δόξα σοι ἐν Χριστῷ.

To make the sense complete, the second verb must

[1] *Ibid.* 1886, pp. 129 *et seq.*

[2] PERRET, *Catacombes de Rome*, V. xliii. 1.

[3] In the Lateran museum, cl. IX. No. 14 ; *Lupi*, Epitaphum Severæ martyris, p. 168.

[4] *Cf.* the numerous examples in Kirsch, Die Acclamationen, pp. 17 *et seqq.* I do not enter upon a discussion of the eschatalogical significance of these formulæ. The texts in KAUFMANN, *Die sepulcralen Jenseitsdenkmäler*, pp. 41 *et seqq.* well repay study from this point of view.

be repeated, and then the text runs: O Father of all, receive Irene, Zoe and Marcellus, whom thou hast created and called to Thyself; or παρελάβης must be taken as a petition and then translated: O Father of all, take to Thyself Irene, Zoe and Marcellus, for they are Thy creatures. To Thee be glory in Christ.[1]

The second text comes from Gaul. It is the poem on the tomb at Antum in which Pectorios prays as follows:—

Ἰχθύϊ χό(ρταζ') ἆρα, λίλαίω, δέσποτα σῶτερ.
Εὖ εὕδοι μ(ή)τηρ, σε λιτάζομε, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.

Satisfy me now, I beg, with the Ichthys (the recognised symbol of the Redeemer, especially with reference to the Eucharist) my Lord and Saviour. Let the mother, I implore Thee, softly sleep, Light of the dead.[2]

And so the monuments of different localities, of Asia Minor, of Rome, and of Gaul, fill out and explain the brief phrases which we find in the African writers. The conclusion is certain—during the third century prayers for the dead, by which the faithful were convinced they could obtain from God benefits for the departed, formed part of the religious practices used both publicly and privately throughout the whole Church. The most solemn of these prayers was the

[1] De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1888-9, pp. 30 *et seqq.*; Wilpert, *Fractio panis*, p. 51.

[2] It is in this way that Pohl has restored the text; *Das Ichthysmonument von Autum*, 1880. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, I. p. 8, n. 4, reads for the first of the two lines: Ἰχθὺ χάριζον μ'ἆρα λιλαίω. . . . Ichthus grant me the grace for which I humbly beg.

commendation of the departed soul at the Eucharistic sacrifice. Although we possess direct evidence for the offering of the eucharist at the burial, and on the anniversary of the dead for Africa alone, still the way in which this practice is alluded to points to the conclusion that this religious practice was observed in other parts of the Church as well.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION OF THE FAITHFUL TO THE HOLY ANGELS.

SPECULATIONS concerning the spirit world occupied a prominent position in the Christian literature from the beginning of the third century, and especially in the writings of Origen in consequence of his peculiar views regarding spirits and human souls. In some particulars the views of the different teachers differ widely from one another, while in others we find a complete agreement. The latter is the case when it is a question of the relation of the holy angels to the members of the Church, and of the protection and assistance which they afford to Christians in the performance of their duties and in the attainment of eternal salvation. In the writings of Irenæus and Hippolytus which survive, the question of the guardian angels is nowhere specially dealt with. Irenæus, it is true, refers incidentally in several passages to the nature of the angels and kindred subjects, but chiefly in opposing gnostic conceptions of the world of æons. This Father attributes to the devil actual power over men in consequence of the sin of our first parents in Paradise. Satan, however, was once more put in bonds by Christ, and so the faithful have gained

power to escape from his violence.[1] No reference is made to the part played by the holy angels in this warfare. One might almost gather from one passage that Irenæus denies all share to the angels, as God's messengers, in the guidance of the world, for he says of the Catholic as opposed to gnostics that he does nothing by invocation of angels. Irenæus, however, does not professedly exclude all reverence towards the angels in this passage, as Turmel seems to imply,[2] but only those superstitious invocations of angels practised by the gnostics for magical purposes, as if they, by their own power, apart from God, were able to do anything. Nothing is said against the activity of the holy angels on behalf of Christians, and the veneration due to them as superior beings.

Hippolytus recognises indirectly the intercourse between good angels and the just on earth in his assumption that when chaste Susanna was being tempted by the elders, a youth from heaven stood by her and prayed with her, *i.e.*, an angel sent to help her.[3] He here maintains the view which we have already met with in the sub-apostolic period.

[1] IRENÆUS, *adv. hæreses*, II. xxxi. 3 ; III. viii. 2 ; V. xxi. 3 ; V. xxiv. 3, 4 (ed. STIEREN, I. pp. 403, 449, 776, 783).

[2] J. TURMEL, *Histoire de l'angélologie*, in the *Revue d'hist. et de littér. religieuses*, III. (1898), p. 550. The passage in Irenæus, adv. hær. II. xxxii. 5 (*ed. cit.* I. p. 409) is as follows : Nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid, nec incantationibus, nec reliqua prava curiositate ; sed munde, et pure et manifeste orationes dirigens ad Dominum, qui omnia fecit, et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi invocans, virtutes ad utilitates hominum, sed non ad seductionem perficit.

[3] HIPPOLYTUS, *Commentary on Daniel*, I. 19 and 28 (ed. BONWETSCH, I. pp. 31, 40).

Under the influence of Neo-Platonism, the two Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, gave the widest development to doctrines concerning the angels, especially dwelling upon the activity of the spirits as God's ministers in relation to the whole created universe.[1] In the providential ordering of the world there is a double activity, a higher, occupied with spiritual things, and a lower, having to do with what is material and inferior. In both ministrations, according to Clement, the angels of God are employed in connection with earthly beings.[2] These ministrations are primarily concerned with material things, and Origen plainly gives it as his opinion that the world has need of the angels who are placed over animals, plants and elements.[3] Angels also control the history of every nation. According to Origen, God divided the different nations among the angels, reserving Israel to Himself as His own inheritance. Such is the interpretation given to

[1] In order to thoroughly appreciate the influence of Platonism upon the teaching of the Alexandrians concerning the angels it would be necessary to make a full investigation of the whole subject, since their teaching must be considered as a whole. We cannot go into the whole question here, but must rest satisfied with discussing their views on the relations between angels and men.

[2] CLEMENS ALEX., *Stromata*, VII. i. 3 (ed. DINDORF, III. 252 *et seqq.*).

[3] ORIGENES, *in Numeros* hom. XIV. 2 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, X. p. 163): Opus est tamen ipsi mundo etiam angelis qui sint super bestias et angelis qui præsint exercitibus terrenis. Opus est angelis qui præsint animalium nativitati, virgultorum plantationumque, et ceteris pluralibus incrementis. *Cf. In Josue* hom. XXIII. 3 (*ed. cit.* XI. p. 196); *in Jerem.* hom. X. 8 (*ed. cit.* XV. pp. 221 *et seqq.*); *Contra Celsum*, VIII. 57.

Deut. xxxii. 8-9, according to the Greek text: "Quando dividebat Altissimus gentes et quando dispergebat filios Adam, constituit terminos populorum juxta numerum *angelorum Dei;* factusque est pars Domini populus ejus Jacob, funiculus hæreditatis ejus Israel." Following out this view, Origen finds references in numerous other writers to the angels as the leaders and guardians of the nations.[1] These "princes" of nations and cities beheld the miracles wrought by Christ; by the Saviour's coming they could have attained to a higher state, and brought it about that cities and nations more readily received Christ's teaching.[2] But the power of these angels was broken by Christ, and they were moved to anger.[3] In so far as men were brought into the kingdom of God by the apostles were they delivered from the power of these angels, who in return stirred up persecution against the preachers of the gospel.[4]

[1] CLEM. ALEX., *Stromata*, VI. xvii. 157 (ed. DINDORF, III. 241); VII. ii. 6 (*ed. cit.* 255). ORIGENES, *De prinipiis*, I. v. 2 (ed. Lommatzsch, xxi. p. 93); III. iii. 2 (*ibid.* p. 324); *In Genesim* hom. IX. 3 (*ibid.* VIII. pp. 212 *et seqq.*); *in Exodum* hom. VIII. 2 (*ibid.* IX. pp. 92 *et seqq.*); *in Num.* hom. XI. 5 (*ibid.* X. pp. 115 *et seqq.*); *In Jesu Nave* hom. XXIII. 3 (*ibid.* XI. p. 195); *in Lucam.* hom. XII. (*ibid.* V. pp. 126 *et seq.*); *in Luc.* hom. XXXV. (*ibid.* V. p. 219); *Comment. in Joan.* tom. XIII. 49 (*ibid.* II. p. 98).

[2] ORIGENES, *Comm. in Joan.* tom. XIII. 58 (*ed. cit.* II. p. 122).

[3] ORIGENES, *in Genesim* hom. IX. 3 (ed. LOMM. VIII. p. 213).

[4] ORIGENES, *in Ezechiel.* hom. XIII. 1 (*ed. cit.* XIV. p. 163): Adversum hos principes est nobis pugna. Et beati apostoli, qui missi fuerant ad prædicandum, quando ab his, qui fines

Special angels were then entrusted with the protection and unseen control of separate churches. The section of the Apocalypse which speaks of the "angels of the churches" (II. and III.) was understood literally by Origen and other teachers of the Church, who apportioned to each church its own guardian angel.[1] Origen compares the activity of the angels in ministering to men to the missionary activity of the apostles. As a missionary, having by his labours won a number of souls to Christ, becomes their chief and bishop, so it is probable the angels are the chiefs of those in the kingdom of God on earth whom they have converted, and each angel presents the first fruits of the church or nation intrusted to him.[2] Origen "boldly"

gentium possederant, homines abducebant, patiebantur insidias. Verbi gratia dictum sit: ingressi sunt apostoli Tyrum, persecutus est eos princeps Tyri: adscenderunt Antiochiam, impugnavit eos princeps regni Syriæ: iste erat, qui bellabat adversus eos, non omnes, qui putabantur, ut Judas proditor. Quomodo enim ille non principaliter putandus est prodidisse Salvatorem, sic etiam apostolis omnibus, qui persecutionem passi sunt, alius fuit princeps persecutionis. Scriptum est quippe de Juda: "et post buccellam introivit in illum Satanas."

[1] ORIGENES, *in Num.* hom. XX. 3 (*ed. cit.* X. p. 253): Et iterum secundum ea quæ Joannes in Apocalypsi scribit, unicuique ecclesiæ generaliter angelus præest, qui vel collaudatur pro bene gestis populi, vel etiam pro delictis ejus culpatur. *Cf. in Lucam* hom. XII. (*ed. cit.* V. p. 128).

[2] ORIGENES, *in Num.* hom. XI. 4 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, X. p. 113): Offert ergo unusquisque angelorum primitias, vel ecclesiæ, vel gentis suæ, quæ ei dispensanda commissa est. Aut forte et alii extrinsecus angeli, qui ex omnibus gentibus fideles quosque congregent. Et consideremus, ne forte sicut in aliqua, verbi gratia, civitate, ubi nondum Christiani nati sunt, si accedat aliquis, et docere incipiat, laboret, instruat, adducat ad fidem, et ipse postmodum iis, quos docuit, princeps et episcopus fiat:

refers to the angels of the churches as their invisible bishops, and exhorts the faithful to beg God that the bishops of the churches, both angelic and human, may redound to their help: both classes of princes being appointed by the Lord on behalf of the faithful.[1]

Individuals are also the object of the protecting care of the angels. Origen regards it as part of the tradition of the Church that there are good angels and powers employed by the Lord in furthering the salvation of men,[2] and so gives expression to the universal belief of the Church in guardian angels. In the writers of the third century we find numerous references to the activity of these angels with regard to individuals. Clement of Alexandria, indeed, expresses doubt in one passage if each man has his own guardian angel in the same way as the nations and cities have their guardian spirits, and as God employs the ministry of angels for the furtherance of His universal providence.[3] However, in other

ita etiam sancti angeli eorum, quos e diversis gentibus congregaverint, et labore suo ac ministerio proficere fecerint, ipsi eorum etiam in futuro principes fiant.

[1] In Lucam hom. XIII. (ed. Lomm. V. p. 131): Si andacter expedit loqui Scripturarum sensum sequenti, per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis, ille visui carnis, hic sensui patens.

[2] Origenes, *De principiis*, I. Prologus, 10 (ed. Lomm. XXI. pp. 25 *et seq.*): Est etiam illud in ecclesiastica prædicatione, esse angelos Dei quosdam et virtutes bonas qui ei ministrant ad salutem hominum consummandam; sed quando isti creati sint vel quales aut quomodo sint, non satis in manifesto designatur.

[3] Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, VI. xvii. 157 (ed. Dindorf, III. 241).

passages, he distinctly states that angels assist and accompany men, pray with them and carry up their prayers to God.[1] This doctrine, that the good angels assist Christians in attaining salvation, was developed by Origen, who often recurs to it in many passages of his writings. He speaks first of all of the help which the faithful receive from the celestial spirits: they regard them as their relations and friends, whose piety they strive to imitate; they work with them in striving after blessedness, appear among them and consider themselves bound to help and serve them; they descend to earth in order to aid the salvation of those who pray to God, whom they also themselves adore.[2] Then every believer has his own special guardian angel to whom we own much, although we do not know him intimately.[3] It is to this good angel, who beholds the face of the Father, that the soul is entrusted when received into the Church by the laver of regeneration.[4] The believer is thereby rescued from the power of the devil,[5] by whom he had been held, and enjoys the protection of the angel as long as he is worthy of it. Origen considers it

[1] CLEM. ALEX., *Stromata*, V. xiv. 91 (*ed. cit.* III. 71); VII. xii. 78 (*ed. cit.* III. 319); IV. xviii. 116 (*ed. cit.* II. 384); *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 27 (*ed. cit.* III. 436); 35 (*ed. cit.* III. 439).

[2] ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum*, VIII. 34 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 249). *Cf.* On Prayer, 11 (*ed. cit.* II. 322 *et seq.*); *in Joan.* X. 18 (ed. LOMM. I. p. 330); *contra Celsum*, V. 57 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 61); *de principiis* III. v. 6 (ed. LOMM. XXI. p. 352).

[3] ORIG., *On Prayer*, 28 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 377).

[4] ORIG. *Comment. in Matth.* tom. XIII. 26, 27 (MIGNE, P. G. XIII. 1163 *et. seqq.*).

[5] ORIG. *in Ezech.* hom. I. 7 (ed. LOMM. XIV. pp. 19 *et seq.*).

possible that when a Christian, who has once accepted with zeal the teaching of Christianity, falls back again into the snare of the world, he is deprived of his former guardian angel and comes under the power of another angel.[1]

The assistance given by the guardian angels to those entrusted to them is represented in various ways. The angels pray with the Christians, aid by their intercessions the prayers of men, and help them to obtain what they have prayed to God for.[2] They present the prayers of the faithful before God;[3] they search the hearts of Christians in order to lay their pious thoughts and desires as a sacrifice on the heavenly altar; they rejoice at the progress made by those over whom they have charge.[4] Again, the angels warn and exhort those committed to their care, correct them in their failings, pray for them before the throne of God,[5] and strive to prevent their relapse

[1] ORIG. *on Prayer*, 6 (*ed. cit.* II. 314) 31 (*ed. cit.* p. 399); *cf. de principiis*, II. x. 7 (ed. LOMM. XXI. p. 240).

[2] ORIG. *on Prayer*, 11 (*ed. cit.* II. 324).

[3] CLEM. ALEX., *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 27 (ed. DINDORF, III. 436).

[4] ORIGENES, hom. IX. *in Leviticum*, 8 (MIGNE, P. G. XII. 520): Angeli enim Dei ascendunt et descendunt ad Filium hominis, perquirunt et curiose agunt quid in utroque nostrum inveniant, quod offerant Deo. Vident et perscrutantur uniuscujusque nostrum mentem, si habeat aliquid tale, si tam sanctum aliquid cogitet, quod Deo mereatur offerri. Intuentur, et considerant si quis nostrum ex his quæ dicuntur in ecclesia corde compungitur, et animum convertit ad pœnitentiam, &c. *Cf.* Hom. VIII. *in Genesim*, 8 (ed. LOMM. VII. p. 203); *in Num.* hom. XI. 3 (*ed. cit.* X. pp. 108 *et seq.*); *ibid.* 5 (*ed. cit.* X. p. 115).

[5] ORIGENES, *In Num.* hom. XX. 3 (MIGNE, P. G. XII. 733 *et seq.*): Adest unicuique nostrum, etiam minimis qui sunt in

into evil ways.[1] Christians enjoy the powerful aid of the angels in their conflict with the powers of darkness, the devil and his evil angels. Origen urges against Celsus that the angels, being faithful protectors of cities and armies, must not bear the blame when things go wrong, for it is the demons who inflict injury, thereby manifesting their evil nature and that they have no ministry entrusted to them by God. The true Christian, obedient to God and His Word, suffers nothing from demons because he is stronger than they, because the angel of the Lord encamps round about those who fear the Lord and rescues them, and because his angel, who always beholds the face of the heavenly Father, ever offers up the true Christian's prayers, through the only sole divine High Priest, to the Creator of all, and unites his prayers with the petitions of him who has been placed under his care.[2] This protection does not end with life:

Ecclesia Dei, angelus bonus, angelus Domini qui regat, qui moneat, qui gubernet, qui pro actibus nostris corrigendis et miserationibus exposcendis, quotidie videat faciem Patris qui in cœlis est; sicut Dominus designat in evangeliis.

[1] ORIG. Homilia I. *in Psal.* XXXVII. 1 (MIGNE, P. G. XII. 1372): Est antem quando erudimur etiam a procuratoribus, et actoribus, id est ab his angelis quibus creditæ sunt dispensandæ et regendæ animæ nostræ: quemadmodum describitur in quodam loco angelus pœnitentiæ, qui nos suscipit castigandos, sicut "Pastor" exponit, si cui tamen libellus ille recipiendus videtur. Interim diversis eruditionibus succumbimus nos homines castigantibus, nos et corripientibus: nondum tamen ab ipso patrefamilias castigamur, sed a procuratoribus angelis, qui uniuscujusque nostri castigandi atque emendandi sortiuntur officium, et est tolerabilius cum ab aliquo horum corripimur.

[2] ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum*, VIII. 36 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 251).

after the soul leaves the body, it is borne up by angels through the heavenly regions to God's throne, and is protected against the attacks of the evil spirits.[1] Nay more, the reward which souls receive in the future state is partly due to the merits of the angels who have performed the divine commands.[2] The Christian is in all the greater need of this protection from his good angel, since, according to Origen's view, every man has also an evil angel who tries to bring him under his control and tempt him to evil.[3]

Thus the faithful on earth live constantly in the companionship of this unseen power, protecting and assisting them on the way to salvation. When Christians assemble for prayer, the angelic hosts assemble with them, along with the power of the Lord and the souls of the saints. Thus there is a double congregation present at the assemblies of the faithful,

[1] ORIGENES, *in Num.* hom. V. 3 (ed. LOMM. X. p. 44).

[2] ORIG. *in Lev.* hom. IX. 4 (ed. LOMM. IX. p. 346): *in Jerem.* hom. XXI. 6 (*ed. cit.* XV. pp. 409 *et seq.*).

[3] ORIGENES, *in Lucam* hom. XII. (ed. LOMMATZSCH, V. p. 127): Neque enim fas est credere, malos angelos suis præesse provinciis, et bonos non easdem provincias habere permissas. Hoc antem, quod de singulis provinciis dicit, puto etiam de universis hominibus generaliter debere credere. Unicuique duo assistunt angeli, alter justitiæ, alter iniquitatis. Si bonæ cogitationes in corde nostro fuerint, et in animo justitia pullularit, haud dubium quin nobis loquatur angelus Domini. Si vero mala fuerint in nostro corde versata, loquitur nobis angelus diaboli. Quo modo igitur per singulos homines bini sunt angeli, sic opinor et in singulis dispares esse provinciis, ut sint et boni, sint et mali. . . . *Cf. Selecta in Numeros* (MIGNE, P. G. XII. 577); in *Jesu Nave* hom. XXIII. 3 (ed. LOMM. XI. p. 195); *in Lucam* hom. XXXV. (*ed. cit.* V. pp. 217 *et seq.*); *de principiis*, III. ii. 4 (*ed. cit.* XXI. pp. 313 *et seq.*).

one formed of men, the other of angels. Origen seeks to establish this from various passages of scripture.[1]

Tertullian represents the relation of angels to the faithful in the same way as Origen and Clement. According to him they have their share in the sanctification of the Christian in the laver of regeneration. The baptismal water is given its healing properties by the instrumentality of an angel, so that the soul is washed in a bodily manner and the flesh spiritually purified.[2] In explanation of this, Tertullian quotes the pool of Bethsaida as an example; just as once a year bodily ills were healed there through the instrumentality of an angel, so now daily men are cleansed from sin into eternal salvation by the reception of the Holy Ghost. The purification from sin in baptism is due to the operation of the

[1] ORIG., *on Prayer*, XXXI. 5 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. pp. 398 *et seq.*): *Cf.* also *in Lucam* hom. XXIII. (ed. LOMM. V. p. 177): Duplex hic adest ecclesia, una hominum, altera angelorum. Si quid juxta rationem, et juxta Scripturarum dicimus voluntatem, lætantur angeli, et orant nobiscum. Et quia præsentes angeli sunt in ecclesia, in illa duntaxat, quæ meretur, et Christi est, propterea orantibus feminis præcipitur, ut habeant velamen super caput propter angelos, utique illos, qui assistunt sanctis, et lætantur in ecclesia. Quos quidem nos, quia peccatorum sordibus oculi nostri obliti sunt, non videmus, sed vident Apostoli Jesu, ad quos loquitur: "Amen, Amen dico vobis, videbitis cœlum apertum, et angelos Dei adscendentes et descendentes super Filium hominis." Quod si haberem hanc gratiam, ut quo modo Apostoli, sic viderem, et sicut Paulus adspexit, intuerer, cernerem nunc angelorum multitudinem, quos videbat Elisæus, et Giezi, qui cum eo steterat, non videbat.

[2] TERTULL., *De baptismo*, 4 (ed. OEHLER, 1. 623): Igitur medicatis quodammodo aquis per angeli interventum, et spiritus in aquis corporaliter diluituret caro in eisdem spiritualiter mundatur.

angel of baptism who thus prepares the way for the Spirit of God.[1] To depict the happiness of marriage entered upon according to the rites of the Church, Tertullian points out in a well known passage that the marriage is announced by the angels and ratified by the heavenly Father.[2] In other ways, too, the celestial spirits occupy themselves with Christians. They watch over the course of their lives, and register their sins.[3] They are able to do this without difficulty since they can be everywhere in an instant; the universe to them is a mere spot, and they know and proclaim whatever happens anywhere.[4] From these statements we see that the angels stay with the faithful, and take an interest in all

[1] TERT., *De baptismo*, 5-6 (*ed. cit.* I. 625). The passage (6) runs: Non quod in aquis Spiritum sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo Spiritui sancto præparamur. Hic quoque figura præcessit; sic enim Joannes ante præcursor domini fuit, præparans vias ejus. Ita et angelus baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui sancto vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto. . . .

[2] *Ad uxorem*, II. 8 (*ed. cit.* I. 696): Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, angeli renunciant, pater rato habet?

[3] Tertullian puts the question to a Christian who had been to the theatre: Quid facies in illo suffragiorum impiorum æstuario deprehensus? Non quasi aliquid illic pati possis ab hominibus (nemo te cognoscit Christianum), sed recogita, quid de te fiat in cœlo. Dubitas illo enim momento, quo diabolus in ecclesia furit, omnes angelos prospicere de cælo et singulos denotare, quis blasphemiam dixerit, quis audierit, quis linguam, quis aures diabolo adversus deum ministraverit? (*De spectaculis*, 27; *ed cit.* I. 59.)

[4] TERT., *Apologeticus*, 22 (*ed cit.* I. 208).

that concerns their welfare. Firmilian, in a letter to St. Cyprian, alludes to the same ideas by saying that the angels are united with the faithful, rejoice over the admission of new members to the Church, and grieve over schisms and dissensions.[1] The same belief underlies the account of the confessor Natalis in Rome, given by Eusebius. Natalis had allowed himself to be persuaded by the followers of the heresy of Theodotus, and even to be made bishop of the sect in return for a monthly payment. He was frequently warned by the Lord in visions, but in vain. Finally he was scourged by angels, and so sharply chastized all night that as soon as it was morning he arose, arrayed himself in penitential garments, covered himself with ashes, and threw himself weeping at the feet of Zephyrinas, Bishop of Rome, and so was at last reconciled to the Church.[2] This story shows us how intimate the concern of the angels in carrying out God's purposes here below was considered to be. At their departure from this world, the

[1] *Epistula* LXXV. *inter Cypr.* 2 (ed. HARTEL, II. 810): Adunatio enim et pax et concordia non solum hominibus fidelibus et cognoscentibus veritatem sed et angelis ipsis cælestibus voluptatem maximam præstat, quibus dicit sermo divinus esse gaudium in uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente et ad unitatis vinculum revertente. Quod utique non diceretur de angelis conversationem in cælis habentibus, nisi ipsi quoque essent nobis adunati qui nostra adunatione lætantur, sicut e contrario utique contristantur, quando vident diversas quorundam mentes et scissas voluntates, quasi non tantum unum et eundem Deum simul invocent, sed separatis et divisis ab invicem nec confabulatio jam possit esse aut sermo communis.

[2] EUSEBIUS, *hist. eccl.* V. 28.

souls of the elect were received by angels and accompanied to the heavenly Jerusalem.[1]

Although we do not find that western writers of the third century speak so clearly of the activity of the spiritual world in the direction of the universe, or of the ministration of guardian angels in particular, as did Origen (as indeed we might expect, considering how much he is given to theological speculation), yet the casual allusions mentioned above show that teaching concerning the angels, such as Origen mentions as forming part of the Church's doctrine ("esse angelos Dei quosdam et virtutes bonas, qui ei ministrant *ad salutem hominum consummandam* [de princ. I., pref.]), was also prevalent among Christians in the West, and gave rise to the same ideas concerning the relation between angels and believers.

Origen, and indeed other teachers also of the third century, did not regard the angels as free from the possibility of failure in the discharge of their ministry, and, on this account, he believed the angels were judged by God with regard to the manner in which they had discharged their ministry towards the faithful.[2] This, however, did not stand in the way of

[1] *Cf. e.g.* the *Passio s. Irenæi ep. Sirmiensis* (RUINART, *Acta sincera*, ed Ratisb. p. 434); *acta s. Eupli.* (*ed. cit.* p. 439).

[2] ORIGENES, *In Numeros* hom. XI. 4 (ed LOMMATZSCH, X. p. 110): Igitur unusquisque angelorum in consummatione sæculi aderit in judicio, educens eos secum, quibus præfuit, quos adjuvit, quos instruxit, pro quibus semper vidit faciem patris, qui in cœlis est. Et puto etiam ibi inquisitionem futuram, non quidem an culturæ hominum angelus defuerit, sed an culturæ angelicæ nequaquam digne segnitia humana responderit. Erit ergo et in hoc judicium Dei, utrum negligentia aliqua ministrorum spirituum, qui ad ministerium et adjutorium

the great veneration paid to them on account of their high dignity and station in the kingdom of heaven, nor check gratitude for their help and protection. By their nature, angels were higher than men, even than the elect in heaven,[1] and admission to the celestial kingdom was frequently expressed by saying the soul had been received among the choirs of God's angels. Veneration for the angels follows naturally from the whole conception of their position with regard to the faithful. Origen gives indirect evidence of this in his controversy with Celsus. Celsus thought that as Christians worshipped the Son of God, as well as God Himself, they must *à fortiori* equally worship God's ministers. To this Origen replies had Celsus meant those who, after the only begotten Son of God, are actually God's ministers, such as Gabriel, Michael or the other angels and archangels, and had he maintained that worship was to be paid to them, then he —Origen—would perhaps have more closely defined the meaning of the word "worship" and the duties of a worshipper, in order to avoid misunderstanding. But as it is the demons who were objects of worship among the heathen whom Celsus means, no honour can be paid to them by Christians.[2] In another passage of the same work, Origen lays stress on the point that Christians do not worship and pray to

missi sunt propter eos, qui hereditatem capiunt salutis, an eorum qui ab iis juvantur ignavia, tam multi lapsus vitæ humanæ proveniant. *Cf. in Num.* hom. XX. 4 (*ed. cit.* p. 256); hom. XXIV. 3 (*ibid.* p. 301).

[1] ORIGENES, *Comment. in Matth.* X. 13 (ed. LOMM. III. pp. 33 *et seq.*).

[2] ORIG., *Contra Celsum*, VIII. 13 (ed. KOETSCHAU, II. 230).

the angels, whose duty it is to minister to them and convey to them God's gifts and graces, in the same way as they worship God. For every prayer, every petition, every invocation and thanksgiving is to be sent up to the Lord God through the High Priest who is placed above the angels.[1] We see from this what Origen means when he refused to permit the invocation of angels, for he writes: To invoke the angels, without having attained to a higher and better understanding of their nature and purpose than men possess, would be unreasonable. But even if we had such an understanding, still it would not be allowed to address our prayers with confidence to any other than to the Almighty God through our Saviour, the Son of God. Then he adds with reference to the ministrations of angels: And we doubt not that the holy angels of God will be gracious to us and do everything for us provided we, as far as in us lies, in our outward and inward conversation with God, follow the example which they give us.[2] This fully harmonizes with Origen's whole conception of prayer and the relation of the Christian to God (see above, p. 71). It would be wrong, in my opinion, to conclude from this that the Christians of that date never called on the angels for their protection, seeing they were convinced the angels were able to aid them in so many ways. Indeed we find in Origen himself an invocation of an angel that he would exert his protecting and directing care over him.[3] There can

[1] *Contra Celsum*, V. 4 (*ed. cit.* II. 4).
[2] ORIG., *Contra Celsum*, V. 5 (*loc. cit.* pp. 4-5).
[3] ORIG., *In Ezechiel*, hom. I. 7 (ed. LOMMATZSCH, XIV. p. 20).

scarcely be any doubt that the Christian people implored God's angels for protection and help, as they did the martyrs and saints, especially when we take into consideration the views developed above as the position of the angels relative to the faithful. It is even probable the invocation of angels was practised in the Church at an earlier date than the invocation of saints, and that the latter arose out of the whole conception that had been formed of the relation of the angels to the faithful.

And so we see that, throughout this period, the views taught concerning the holy angels and their relation to the members of the Church remained the same as in the preceding period. They were further developed by Clement of Alexandria, and still more so by Origen, many of whose views were in time generally accepted by the teachers of the Church.

PART III

The fully developed Doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the fourth and fifth centuries.

All the essential points in the doctrine of the Communion of Saints and in the religious practices arising from the doctrine are to be found in the third century. In the flourishing period of patristic literature, *i.e.*, during the fourth century and first half of the fifth, we find it fully developed both as to doctrine and practice. In the first place, we find a much more developed conception of the Church, and that in two directions ; the Church is regarded, firstly, as the external union of all believers who hold the Catholic faith in all its fulness, and are in ecclesiastical communion with the duly constituted authorities, and secondly, as the inner union of the faithful who partake in all the benefits of redemption with one another and with the church triumphant—the invisible city of God. Along with this, new points of view present themselves concerning the communion of inward spiritual life among the members of the Church. Then, the new question arises by what means and on what conditions the souls of the faithful departed can be aided. The worship of the saints itself also developed in different directions ; it became more closely than

ever connected with the tombs and bodily remains of the martyrs, and the saints were invoked for their supernatural assistance in earthly and bodily needs and necessities. The veneration for the saints and the practices resulting from it became mingled, as far as the people were concerned, with false views and abuses, partly based upon heathen superstitions, but these were opposed by the doctors and authorities of the Church. St. Jerome, in writing against Vigilantius, defends the worship of the saints in itself as a consequence of the vital communion of the church on earth with the blessed in heaven, while St. Augustine develops in particular the doctrine that the souls of the saints now rejoicing in heavenly bliss take a practical interest in the faithful still on earth. Moreover, the worship of the saints exerted a profound influence on the development of the liturgy and on public worship in general. Along with the martyrs, other famous members of the kingdom of God received special honour as examples of life for the faithful, and as protectors and intercessors with God. This development was closely connected with the great outburst of asceticism in the fourth century. It was those great teachers of asceticism, who by a life of the greatest self-renunciation had gloriously overcome all attacks of the evil one, who, along with some of the most celebrated bishops, now began to be specially venerated with the martyrs in a marked manner. The numerous miracles related in their biographies had much to do with exalting these fathers of asceticism in the eyes of the people, and in obtaining for them special honour. From the

fourth century onwards the unique position of the Mother of God in the Church becomes more and more prominent. Many of her privileges had already been dealt with in passing by earlier fathers, but within the limits of the first three centuries we find no full discussion of her office as intercessor between Christ and the faithful. Two things in particular encouraged the veneration of our Blessed Lady: (1) the high value set upon virginity, Mary being regarded by several of the most distinguished doctors of the Church as the most perfect type of a consecrated virgin; (2) her dignity as Mother of God which admitted her to a special share in Christ's redemptive work, and, after the condemnation of Nestorius' errors by the Council of Ephesus, formed the dogmatic basis for the development of the doctrine concerning her position in the Church. When to this we add the relation of the holy angels to the Church and to the faithful (in which we find nearly the same views as in the preceding period), we have all the principal questions of interest in connection with our subject. We have only to add that in the period now under consideration the phrase "communio sanctorum" appears in the Western creed; this point will be dealt with in the concluding chapter of this part.

CHAPTER I.

THE VITAL UNION BETWEEN ALL MEMBERS OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

THE growth of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints during the fourth century forms part and parcel of the development of the doctrine concerning the Church. Since the days of Tertullian and Irenæus, the teachers of the Church had indeed been occupied with the Kingdom of God and the duty of membership therein, but they were more concerned with the communion of believers on earth in doctrine, means of grace, and ecclesiastical organisation (the hierarchy). But from the council of Nicæa onwards, along with explanations of the Church as God's Kingdom on earth, we meet with a larger number of attempts to investigate the inward life of grace among the members of the Church due to the operations of the Holy Ghost. It is among the western fathers that these questions received their deepest and fullest treatment, and amongst these St. Augustine undoubtedly carries off the palm. The Greek Fathers continue to be chiefly occupied with the more external side of the Church. Still we find in them also important references to the spiritual bond uniting the members of the Church in supernatural fellowship, in virtue of which the faithful still living on earth partake of the fruits of the spiritual life, and can even

receive assistance from the blessed who already have attained to the heavenly city of God.[1]

St. Cyril of Jerusalem formulates a threefold division of the Church: (1) the Old Testament Jewish Church; and (2) the holy Catholic Church gathered by Christ from among the heathen. The first was rejected because the Jews laid snares for the Redeemer; the second "is the Bride of Christ, the type and copy of the heavenly Jerusalem." (3) This last is, as it were, a third Church standing in relation to the Catholic Church on earth, a relation which appears external in its nature, such as we already met with in Clement of Alexandria.[2] Beyond this slight indication, implying some sort of communion between the faithful and their fellow-members in the heavenly kingdom, St. Cyril does not help us, save in a passage on intercession which will be considered further on. St. Hilary deals much more fully with the communion between the earthly Church and the heavenly kingdom. Both are one; whosoever dwells here below in the Church, which is likewise the heavenly Jerusalem, will never be moved; whosoever dwells therein dwells also in the heavenly Church, for it is the "forma" of the other, both being heavenly. To it belong also the spirits founded upon

[1] We must confine ourselves to these general allusions to the development of the idea of the Church. *Cf.* SCHWANE, *Dogmengeschichte*, I [2], pp. 399 *et seqq.*; II [2], pp. 638 *et seqq.* HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, I [3], pp. 369 *et seqq.*; II [3], pp. 109 *et seqq.*; III [3], pp. 131 *et seqq.*

[2] CYRILLUS HIEROS., *Catechesis* XVIII. 22-27 (opp. ed REISCHL und RUPP, II. pp. 324 *et seqq.*), especially 25 and 26. See above, p. 54.

God, and thereupon Hilary concludes the faithful must also be founded upon the Spirit.[1] This spiritual city will be perfected by the gathering together of the saints at the resurrection; it is called Jerusalem, city of peace, because the kingdom of the Lord is in the peace and harmony of the saints.[2] The angels and saints in heaven, who have already gloriously overcome their earthly nature and rejoice in divine things, are represented, according to the same Father, by the mountains of which the psalmist says: "Montes in circuitu nostro"; and he interprets the passage of the protection which they afford to the faithful who desire to stand firm. This help is of great use, but better still is the help of the Lord Himself.[3] Hilary in this passage plainly speaks of all

[1] HILARIUS, *Tract in Ps.* CXXIV. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 681 *et seq.*): Confidamus in Domino ut conformes corpori gloriæ Dei simus. Habitemus nunc ecclesiam, cœlestem Jerusalem, ut non moveamur in æternum. In hac enim habitantes, habitabimus et in illa, quia hæc illius forma est . . . Sed et hæc cœlestis et illa cœlestis; et hæc Jerusalem est, illa quidem ecclesia angelorum multitudinis frequentium: sed est ecclesia primitivorum, est et ecclesia spirituum in Domino fundatorum (Heb. XII. 22, 23). Fundandi ergo sumus in spiritu. . . .

[2] HIL., *Tract in Ps.* CXLVII. 2 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 875 *et seq.*): Non differt Jerusalem a Sion; nam secundum locorum nomina urbis ipsius locus idem est: sed nominum interpretatio geminam hanc ejusdem urbis commemorationem necessario desiderabat. Jerusalem enim est civitas pacis. Et quia Domini nostri regnum in pace et unanimitate sanctorum est,—et factus est, inquit, in pace ejus (Ps. LXXV. 3)—conventus ille beatorum qui Dei regnum est, Jerusalem tamquam civitas pacis est dictus. Civitatem vero hanc vivis, ut ait apostolus, lapidibus exstructam sanctorum cœtus conformis gloriæ Dei ex resurrectione consummat (1 Pet. II. 5).

[3] HIL., *Tract. in Ps.* cxxiv. 5, 6 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 682):

members of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as they are in union with the heavenly Jerusalem. He does not go into the question whether in this connection there is any distinction between the just and sinners in the Church; one can merely gather from the phrase, "Sed neque desunt *stare volentibus* sanctorum custodiæ," that the spiritual assistance of the saints and angels is only given to those who conduct themselves as true members of the Church.[1]

In St. Basil of Cappadocia we find a deeper conception of the communion of Christians in the Church, obivously due to the teaching of Origen (see above, p. 54). The Holy Ghost works in all the faithful in

Sed neque desunt stare volentibus sanctorum custodiæ neque Angelorum munitiones. Dicitur enim: Montes in circuitu ejus et Dominus in circuitu populi sui ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum. Hos enim secundum superiora exempla montes esse existimabimus, humilitatem terræ excedentes, firmos et excelsos et immobiles. Cum enim et montem significari Ecclesiam, id est, Dominum in corpore legimus, et invenimus montes Dei exultare atque lætari; scriptum est enim: Montes exultaverunt ut arietes (Ps. cxiii. 4): quomodo possumus montes non eos significatos esse intelligere, qui super terrenam naturam gloriosi jam in Dei rebus exultant? Ac ne leve præsidium in apostolis, vel patriarchis ac prophetis, vel potius in angelis, qui Ecclesiam quadem custodia circumsepiant, crederemus, adjectum est: Et Dominus in circuitu populi sui ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum. Sed forte apostolorum vel angelorum custodia sufficiens existimetur. Verum id quidem est; sed et Moysen audiamus. Namque cum ei Dominus dixisset: Ecce angelus meus antecedet te (Exod. XXXII. 34), et ille respondit: Nisi tu mecum ambulaturus es, ne me expellas hinc (Exod. XXXIII. 15). Bonum quidem præsidium angeli, sed melius Domini.

[1] *Cf.* HILARIUS, *Tract in Ps.* li. 3 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 310 *et seq.*): In hanc igitur spiritalem domum ædificandi in regale genus sumus, si per spiritalem corporum ædificationem con-

a twofold manner similarly to the spoken and mental word, sometimes by bearing witness along with our own spirit, sometimes by dictating to the believer the right thing to say. The operations manifest themselves differently in each individual, and the Holy Ghost works as the whole in the parts. All the faithful, however, in whom these operations are effected form the body of Christ in the unity of the Spirit, and so must necessarily share mutually the fruits of this multiform operation, just as in the body the action of each limb contributes to the welfare of the whole. "The members have the same care for one another according to the spiritual fellowship of mutual sympathy that is in them." On the other hand, the individual members are in the Spirit as parts in the whole, because all have been baptised into one body, the Church, and into one and the self-same Spirit.[1]

formes Deo facti, genus perfici regale mereamur. . . . Concessa ergo secundum præcedentem psalmum peccatorum remissione, Verbum caro factum habitat in nobis, qui et fratres et domus spiritalis et regale genus sumus. *Cf. ibid.* 4.

[1] BASILIUS, M., *Lib. de Spiritu sancto*, XXVI. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 181): Καὶ ὡς ὁ λόγος δὲ ἐν ψυχῇ ποτὲ μὲν ὡς τὸ ἐγκάρδιον νόημα· ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ὁ προφερόμενος διὰ γλώσσης, οὕτω τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· νῦν μὲν ὅταν συμμαρτυρῇ τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ὅταν κράζῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· "Ἀββᾶ ὁ Πατήρ" (Rom. VIII. 16)· νῦν δὲ ὅταν λαλῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι "οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν" (Matth. X. 20). Ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅλον ἐν μέρεσι, νοεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν τῶν χαρισμάτων διανομήν. Πάντες γὰρ ἀλλήλων ἐσμὲν μέλη, ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα. Διὰ τοῦτο "οὐ δύναται ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρί, χρείαν σου οὐκ ἔχω· ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσί, χρείαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω" (1 Cor. XII. 21), ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ὁμοῦ συμπληροῖ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἀναγκαίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀντιδίδωσιν ὠφέλειαν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ

This lays a deep foundation on which to raise the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. The divine Spirit is in all, and all are in the divine Spirit; the operation of the Spirit differs in each, so that through the mutual participation of each part of the whole, each ministers to the spiritual welfare of the others, and also of the whole. Origen had based the union of the members of the kingdom of God on the Holy Trinity, but here, owing to the further development of the doctrine of the Trinity subsequent to the Nicene Council, it is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, Who, according to 1 Cor. xii. 13, communicates the divine energy to the Church. This view gives a specially well grounded foundation for the different manifestations to which belief in the Communion of Saints gave rise in Christian life. We meet the same idea, though expressed with less detail, in other writings of St. Basil. For instance, in the homily on the Forty Martyrs, where he states that although the martyrs belonged to different cities, yet it is needless to dwell upon this point, since they all had one native land; the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, is the city of the martyrs, the free mother of Paul, and of those who are like him. Men, indeed, come of different bodily descent, but their spiritual lineage is the same for all: God is the Father of them all, and they are

μέλη ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἕν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν καθὼς ἠθέλησε. Τὰ μέντοι μέλη τὸ αὐτὸ μεριμνῶσιν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, κατὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς συμπαθείας αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχούσης. Διόπερ "εἴτε πάσχει ἕν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη· εἴτε δοξάζεται ἓν μέλος, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη" (1 Cor. XII. 26). *Καὶ ὡς μέρη δὲ ἐν ὅλῳ, οἱ καθ' ἕνα ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι· ὅτι οἱ πάντες ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι, εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν.*

united by the adoption of the Holy Ghost in mutual concord by brotherly love.[1] Not only the heavenly Jerusalem, where the angels, the assembly of the first-born and the saints are united, is the city of God, but the Church on earth may also be so described; in both "the Most High has sanctified His Tabernacle." The city of God must be understood as the assembly of all intelligent creatures who have been refreshed by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, whether heavenly powers or human souls.[2] This mystical bond, consisting in the sanctifying operation of the divine Spirit, includes all creatures who form the kingdom of God and will find its perfection in the heavenly city of God.

In St. Gregory of Nazianzum, we meet with similar utterances on the union of the faithful as members of Christ's body in the Holy Ghost, and on the heavenly Jerusalem, of which Christians are enrolled as citizens, the true fatherland of the just.[3]

St. John Chrysostom dwells more upon the union

[1] BASILIUS M., *Hom. in xl. martyrs*, 2 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 509): Πόλις τοίνυν μαρτύρων ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ᾗ τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεὸς, ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐλευθέρα, ἡ μήτηρ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίων. Γένος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπινον ὅλλο ἄλλου, τὸ δὲ πνευματικὸν ἓν ἁπάντων. Κοινὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν πατὴρ ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες οὐκ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς καὶ μίας γεννηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ὁμόνοιαν ἀλλήλοις συναρμοσθέντες. *Cf. Regulæ fusius tractatæ*, *Interrogatio VII.* 2 (*ibid.* 929), where this fellowship is quoted to prove that the manner of life of the ascetics is superior to that of the anchorites.

[2] BASILIUS, *Hom. in Ps.* xlv. 4, 5, on verse 5: "Fluminis impetus lactificat civitatem Dei" (MIGNE, P. G. XXIX. 421-424).

[3] GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XXXII. *de moderatione in disputando*, 11 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVI. 185); *Oratio* VIII. *in laudem Gorgoniæ sororis*, 6 (*ibid.* XXXV. 796).

of believers in the Church with reference to its moral aspect in the effect it has upon Christian life and duty. He deals with the question at length in the 30th to the 32nd homilies in Corinthians, in which he explains xii., 12 *et seqq.*, of the Church as the body of Christ. As our body is one although composed of many members, so, although we are many, yet we form only one body in the Church. Thus no member is, as such, greater or less but all are one, for no one of them can by itself make up the one body, but each needs to be united to the others; when many are bound up together, then alone do we form a body. It is one Spirit which brings it to pass that we form one body: one Spirit baptized us, and we were baptized into one Spirit. We are admitted to the same mystic feast; the Spirit has prepared one table for us and given us all one drink. All this is applied by the preacher to the life of believers with each other. "Let us apply to the Church what is figuratively said of the body, and let us have care for all as if they were members of our own body." Therefore the needs of those scantily provided with spiritual or bodily things should be relieved, and especially should all lay to heart the lessons to be learnt from the patience of the poor and needy. He exhorts his hearers to unity and peace with the whole Church, and, in conclusion, to love of the brethren.[1] In another connection, Chrysostom lays stress upon the fact that the sins of individuals afflict the whole body, and so the Christian

[1] JOANNES CHRYS. *Hom.* XXX.-XXXII. *in I. ep. ad Cor.* (MIGNE, P. G. lxi. 249 *et seqq.*).

must grieve for the sins of his brethren. "If you disregard these sins, because they are found in another body, you act most foolishly for every one is a member of the whole body."[1] This is a striking manifestation of St. Chrysostom's belief in the intimate spiritual bond existing between the faithful. Of course, the words are not to be taken as implying that one man's sins are imputed to another who has had no personal share in them, but merely that the body of the Church, as a whole, is less perfect in God's sight when one member has sinned, and so in a certain sense all members of the body suffer. As a consequence of this communion between all the members of the Church, the merits which each individual obtains become equalised in a sense, since what some do more than others is applied to another's benefit. This follows from the expressions employed by several of the great Greek theologians, which have been given above. St. Ephrem Syrus, always in close harmony in dogmatic expressions with the Greek Fathers, maintains this point frequently and unmistakably. "You are members of one body," he says, "you are bound to relieve one another. As the members of the body, in which one soul dwells, willingly minister to one another, and, according to the words of the apostle, the eye cannot say to the hand: I have no need of thee . . ." (1 Cor. xii., 21–23); so are we also members one of another, as has already been said above. Since we are now guided by one Spirit as fellow-members, and are

[1] JOAN. CHRYS., *Hom. I. de pœnitentia*, 2-3 (MIGNE, P. G. xlix. 280-81).

nourished by the one living Word of Truth, so are we bound by love, simplicity, kindness, and joy harmoniously to afford one another mutual assistance. . . . Let us preserve this disposition, full of holy simplicity and love towards each other, and so the superabundant merits of those who devote themselves to continual prayer supply what those who are occupied in other works, and indulge in rest, fall short of in prayer. On the other hand, the greater merits which they obtain who are employed in service (in works of love) make up what is lacking in those given to prayer, so that complete equality exists, as is said (of the manna): "neither had he more that had gathered more; nor did he find less that had provided less" (Exod. xvi. 18: 2 Cor. viii. 15).[1] Macarius the Egyptian instructs his monks in almost the same words. "The brethren must now as always be in love and peace with each other. Let him who works say to him who prays: the treasure which this brother gains belongs also to me because it is common property. And let him who prays say to the reader, what this man gathers from his reading benefits me also. And let the worker say in his turn: the service which I render is for the good of all."[2]

It was the conception of the Church as the body of Christ, based upon St. Paul's words, which was mostly

[1] ST. EPHREM SYRUS, *Instruction on Christian Perfection*, c. 21, translated into German by F. PIUS ZINGERLE, *Bibliothek der Kichenväter*, Ephräm, vol. III. p. 390 *et seq.*).

[2] MACARIUS AEGYPTIUS, *Homilia* III. 2 (MIGNE P. G. XXXIV. 468 *et seq.*).

appealed to by the Greek theologians in support of their doctrine of the inner spiritual communion of the faithful, and in close connection therewith emphasis was laid upon the operation of the one Christ and one divine Spirit in all the members of the Church. This conception, besides the doctrine of good works, and their meritoriousness, also naturally gave prominence to the belief that the prayers and other good works of one man benefit another, a view which to a certain degree underlies all intercession. Here we are concerned with the point that not only the prayer which is offered up directly for another in a given case may obtain God's help for the person for whom it is offered, but that the merits attached to the good works of one man benefit his fellows in virtue of the spiritual fellowship existing between them. Again, the figure of "the city of God," the heavenly Jerusalem, was employed to signify the saints, the whole body of the just, and the holy spirits, and from this there arose the idea of the fellowship of all believers among themselves and with the citizens of the heavenly kingdom, by which all were bound together into a spiritual commonwealth with definite spiritual relationships. Among the western Fathers at the beginning of the fifth century, St. Ambrose speaks first of all in many passages of his works of intercessory prayer and the intercession of the saints, and then, here and there, briefly alludes to the grounds on which these manifestations of spiritual communion rest. In his work in penance, he traces back the help which a sinner receives through the good works of his fellows to the church in general

in which all are united. Explaining the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. v. 7, he writes: "Therefore he well says, 'Purge out.' Through the mediation of the people, through their works and tears, he obtains purification who is freed from sin by the prayers and sighs of the people, *i.e.*, is purified in his inner man. Christ has granted to His Church to save one man by means of the others, as she herself was counted worthy of the coming of the Lord Jesus, in that through the One Man all the others were redeemed."[1] In like manner in another passage he exhorts sinners who despaired of pardon on account of their grievous sins to turn to the Church to obtain her intercessions.[2] He also applies the figure of the body to the Church in order to show that the saints in heaven, who still belong to the body of the Church, have pity on the members of the body yet fighting on earth.[3]

This close union brings it to pass that all the faithful on earth are, as it were, one, or that each is in all.

[1] AMBROSIUS, *de pœnitentia*, I. 15 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 510 *et seq.*).

[2] AMBROSIUS, *Expos. in Lucam*, V. 11 (MIGNE, XV. 1723): Magnus Dominus qui aliorum merito ignoscit aliis, et dum alios probat, aliis relaxat errata. Cur apud te homo collega non valeat, cum apud Dominum servus et interveniendi meritum et jus habeat impetrandi? Disce, qui judicas, ignoscere; disce, qui æger es, impetrare. Si gradium peccatorum diffidis veniam, adhibe precatores, adhibe Ecclesiam quæ pro te precetur, cujus contemplatione quod tibi Dominus negare posset, ignoscat.

[3] *Ibid.* Epist. XXXV. *ad Horontianum*, 7 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1124): Cui conjunxit Apostolus (Rom VIII. 23) etiam sanctorum gemitum, qui habent primitias Spiritus; nam et ipsi ingemiscunt. Quamvis enim de suo merito securi sint, tamen

"Siquidem et tu in omnibus es," cries St. Ambrose to each Christian in order to incite them to pray for one another.[1] It is to be noted that all the members of the Church, so long as they are alive on earth and belong to the external communion of the Church, can share in the fruits of this spiritual fellowship, even sinners, who are assisted by the merits and good works of others in obtaining their release from sin. The foundation of the Church, teaches St. Ambrose, changing the metaphor, is Christ, for He is the faith of all. But the Church is a certain form, or manifestation of justice; "The common right of all prays, works, and is tempted in common." Since faith is the foundation in Christ, justice, which reposes on Him, performs good works.[2]

quia futura est adhuc redemptio totius corporis Ecclesiæ, compatiuntur. Cum enim adhuc membra patiuntur corporis sui, quomodo alia membra, licet superiora, non compatiuntur membris unius corporis laborantibus?

[1] *Ibid.*, *De Cain et Abel*, I. 39 (MIGNE, P. L. XIV. 354). We shall have occasion to return again to this passage.

[2] AMBROSIUS, *De officiis ministrorum* I. 29 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 70): Fundamentum ergo est justitiæ fides; justorum enim corda meditantur fidem; et qui se justus accusat, justitiam supra fidem collocat; nam tunc justitia ejus apparet, si vera fateatur. Denique et Dominus per Isaiam: "Ecce" inquit "mitto lapidem in fundamentum Sion" (Is. XXVIII. 18), id est, Christum in fundamenta Ecclesiæ. Fides enim omnium, Christus; Ecclesia autem quædam forma justitæ est. Commune jus omnium in commune orat, in commune operatur, in commune tentatur. Denique qui se ipsum sibi abnegat, ipse justus, ipse dignus Christo est. Ideo et Paulus fundamentum posuit Christum (1 Cor. III. 11), ut supra eum opera justitiæ locaremus, quia fides fundamentum est: in operibus autem aut malis iniquitas, aut bonis justitia est.

Since Christ is one, so the faithful are, as it were, united in Him in good works. Yet all Christians in the Church are united not only by faith but also by love. He, therefore, who injures one member, sins against the unity of the holy Church.[1] The spiritual building up of the Church is carried on by the Holy Ghost. St. Ambrose compares this operation of the divine Spirit in regard to the faithful with that of the Father and the Son, in order to prove His divinity.[2] And so the spiritual supernatural activity of God in the individual is the ground of the communion of all the faithful in the Church. Of all the theologians of antiquity no one has treated the doctrine of the Church in so exhaustive and profound a manner as St. Augustine; his teaching attains its fullest expression in his work on the City of God, in which, from different points of view, he explains the essential nature of the Church, her authority and supernatural life of grace. Harnack remarks on St. Augustine's conception of the Church: "To the idea of the Church as a doctrinal authority, he adds the idea of her as a holy institution for imparting grace. He has given special attention to this latter aspect. After he had grasped his doctrine of grace, the Church had more attractions for him as a *communio sanctorum*, *i.e.*, as the abode

[1] AMBROSIUS, *De officiis ministrorum*, III. 3 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 159): Jam si in uno membro totum corpus violatur utique in uno homine communio totius humanitatis solvitur: violatur natura generis humani, et sanctæ Ecclesiæ congregatio, quæ in unum connexum corpus atque compactum unitate fidei et charitatis assurgit: Christus quoque Dominus, qui pro universis mortuus est, mercedem sanguinis sui evacuatam dolebit.

[2] AMBROSIUS, *De Spiritu sancto*, II. 10 (MIGNE, P. L., XVI.

where the Spirit imparts faith, love and hope."[1] In this spiritual supernatural aspect of the Church's life is to be found the principle which unites all the faithful in the Church as members of the mystical body of Christ. There is, however, another idea, prominent in St. Augustine,—the union of all the justified from the creation of the world into one spiritual city of God, and the union of this with that other city of God formed of the angels in heaven. We have indeed met these ideas already, but no one has treated it so systematically as St. Augustine.

The Church is the body of Christ: accordingly he who does not belong to her cannot be a partaker of Christian salvation.[2] Therefore all who are saved belong to the Church. Not only the members of the Church alive on earth at a given time are united to the body of Christ, but also the faithful departed as well. St. Augustine proves this from the commemora-

798): Sed nec hoc tantum loco Petrus apostolus, sed etiam alibi in eodem libro a Spiritu sancto ædificatam Ecclesiam demonstravit. Habes enim dixisse eum: "Deus qui novit corda hominum, testimonium perhibuit, dans his Spiritum sanctum, sicut et nobis: et nihil discrevit inter nos et illos, mundans per fidem corda eorum (Act. XV. 8, 9)." In quo illud est contuendum, quia sicut Christus lapis est angularis, qui unitatem plebis utriusque connexuit, ita etiam Spiritus sanctus non discrevit utriusque populi corda, sed junxit.

[1] HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, III.[3] p. 134.

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XLIII. 392): Hæc autem Ecclesia corpus Christi est, sicut apostolus dicit (Col. I. 24). Unde utique manifestum est, eum qui non est in membris Christi, christianam salutem habere non posse. Membra vero Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti suo cohærent, quod est Christus Jesus.

tion made at the eucharistic celebration for the dead, from the fact that baptism is given to the dying, and from the reconcilation to the Church of notorious sinners on their deathbed. The Church now rules with Christ first of all over her living and departed members.[1]

The Old Testament saints also belong to the Church on earth; all who have been elected to eternal life from the beginning are her members; all have Christ as their Head.[2] This Church attains perfection

[1] AUG., *de civitate Dei*, XX. 9 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 674): Neque enim piorum animæ mortuorum separantur ab Ecclesia, quæ nunc etiam est regnum Christi. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi, nec aliquid prodesset ad ejus in periculis baptismum currere ne sine illo finiatur hæc vita, nec ad reconciliationem si forte per pœnitentiam malamve conscientiam quisque ab eodem corpore separatus est. Cur enim fiunt ista, nisi quia fidelis etiam defuncti membra ejus sunt? Quamvis ergo cum suis corporibus nondum, jam tamen eorum animæ regnant cum illo, dum isti mille anni decurrunt. Unde in hoc eodem libro et alibi legitur: "Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur, amodo et jam dicit Spiritus ut requiescant a laboribus suis, nam opera eorum sequuntur illos." (Apoc. XIV. 13.) Regnat itaque cum Christo nunc primum Ecclesia in vivis et mortuis. "Præterea enim," sicut dicit Apostolus, "mortuus est Christus ut et vivorum et mortuorum dominetur" (Rom. XIV. 9). Sed ideo tantummodo martyrum animas commemoravit, quia ipsi præcipue regnant mortui, qui usque ad mortem pro veritate certaverunt. Sed a parte totum etiam cæteros mortuos intelligimus pertinentes ad Ecclesiam, quod est regnum Christi.

[2] AUG. *Enarratio in Ps.* XXXVI. *sermo* III. 4 (MIGNE, P. L., XXXVI. 385): Dominus enim ipse in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, junior fuit primis temporibus, et ecce jam senuit. Nostis et agnoscitis et intelligitis quia in hoc positi estis et ita credidistis, quia caput nostrum Christus est; corpus capitis illius nos sumus (1 Cor. XII. 27; Ephes. IV. 15). Numquid

in the union of all who are called to salvation in her, and is united with the heavenly church composed of the angels, for the elect are united in bliss with the angels and fill up the vacant places in the kingdom of heaven due to the fall of the evil angels.[1] For the angels form the temple of God, and so, during the existence of men on earth, there is "a twofold church, one below comprising the faithful, one above composed of the

soli nos et non etiam illi qui fuerunt ante nos? Omnes qui ab initio sæculi fuerunt justi, caput Christum habent. Illum enim venturum crediderunt, quem nos venisse jam credimus, et in ejus fide ipsi sanati sunt, in cujus et nos: ut esset et ipse totius caput civitatis Jerusalem, omnibus connuneratis fidelibus ab initio usque in finem, adjunctis etiam legionibus et exercitibus angelorum, ut fiat illa una civitas sub uno rege et una quadam provincia sub uno imperatore, felix in perpetua pace et salute, laudans Deum sine fine, beata sine fine. *Cf. Enarr. in Ps.* lxii. 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVI. 749); 6 (*ibid.* 751); *in Ps.* xc. s. II. 1 (XXXVII. 1159); *de catechizandis rudibus*, 3 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 313); 19 (*ibid.* 334-335).

[1] *Cf.* the passage just quoted; also the Enchiridion, 56 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 258 *et seq.*): Rectus itaque confessionis ordo poscebat ut Trinitati subjungeretur Ecclesia, tamquam habitatori domus sua, et Deo templum suum, et conditori civitas sua. Quæ tota hic accipienda est, non solum ex parte qua peregrinatur in terris, a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudans nomen Domini (Ps. cxii. 3), et post captivitatem vetustatis cantans canticum novum; verum etiam ex illa, quæ in cælis semper, ex quo condita est, cohæsit Deo, nec ullum malum sui casus experta est. Hæc in sanctis angelis beata persistit, et suæ parti peregrinanti sicut oportet opitulatur, quia utraque una erit consortio æternitatis, et nunc una est vinculo charitatis, quæ tota instituta est ad colendum unum Deum. . . . Templum ergo Dei, hoc est totius summæ Trinitatis, sancta est Ecclesia, scilicet universa in cælo et in terra.

angels."[1] The members of the church which consists of men are bound together into the body of Christ, and thereby united to the Head, which is Christ. By this figure, St. Augustine illustrates the union of all the faithful who from the beginning have lived in justice.[2] The unitive force is "charitas," a term of wide signification in St. Augustine, *i.e.*, the fulfilment of all that God demands from man, in respect of both God and his neighbour, and all a man performs

[1] AUG., *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxvii. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVII. 1776): Certe tamen, quod manifestum est, in angelis habitat Deus. Ergo cum gaudium nostrum de spiritualibus rebus, non de terrenis bonis assumit canticum Deo, ut psallat coram angelis, ipsa congregatio angelorum templum Dei est, adoramus ad templum Dei. · Ecclesia deorsum, et Ecclesia sursum: Ecclesia deorsum in omnibus fidelibus, Ecclesia sursum in omnibus angelis. *Cf. Enarr. in Ps.* cxlix. 5 (*ibid.* 1952).

[2] AUG., *Sermo* cccxli. 9 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIX. 1499-1500): Tertius modus est, quomodo totus Christus secundum Ecclesiam, id est, caput et corpus prædicetur. . . . Membra Christi et corpus sumus omnes simul; non qui hoc loco tantum sumus, sed et per universam terram; nec qui tantum hoc tempore, sed quid dicam? Ex Abel justo usque in finem sæculi quamdiu generant et generantur homines, quisquis justorum per hanc vitam transitum facit, quidquid nunc, id est, non in hoc loco sed in hac vita, quidquid post nascentium futurum est, totum hoc unum corpus Christi, singuli antem membra Christi. Si ergo omnes corpus, singuli membra, est utique caput cujus hoc sit corpus. "Et ipse est, inquit, caput corporis Ecclesiæ, primogenitus, ipse primatum tenens" (Col. I. 18). Et quia de illo ait etiam, quod semper "caput omnis principatus et potestatis sit" (*ibid.* II. 10), adjungitur ista Ecclesia quæ nunc peregrina est, illi cœlesti Ecclesiæ, ubi angelos cives habemus; cui æquales nos futuros post resurrectionem corporum impudentur nobis arrogaremus, nisi Veritas promisisset dicens: "Erunt æquales angelis Dei" (Luc. XX. 36), et fit una Ecclesia, civitas regis magni.

assisted by the grace of God and in union with the Church. He who grows cold in love becomes a sick member of the Lord's mystical body, but he can be cured so long as he remains in union with the body. But if he carries his wickedness to such an extent that he is cut off from the body, he can no longer be healed.[1] Accordingly union with the Church, in the sense given above, is absolutely necessary for salvation. How strongly St. Augustine regarded believers as forming one whole is seen from what he says concerning the miraculous gift of tongues at Pentecost. "Since each baptized person receives the Holy Ghost, how comes it no one speaks in the tongues of all nations?" The Church, spread throughout the nations, speaks with all tongues; the Church is the body of Christ, and in this body thou art a member. As thou art a member of this body, which speaks with all tongues, so thou too speakest in all tongues. The unity of the members agrees

[1] AUG., *Sermo* cxxxvii. 1 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 754): Non ignorat fides vestra, carissimi, et ita vos didicisse novimus, docente magistro de cœlo in quo spem vestram posuistis, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui jam pro nobis passus est et resurrexit, caput est Ecclesiæ, et est corpus ejus Ecclesia, et in ejus corpore unitas membrorum et compago charitatis tanquam sanitas exsistit. Quicumque antem in charitate friguerit, infirmatur in corpore Christi. Sed potens est ille, qui jam exaltavit caput nostrum, etiam infirma membra sanare: dum tamen non nimia impietate præcidantur, sed hæreant corpori donec sanentur. Quidquid enim adhuc hæret corpori, non desperatæ sanitatis est; quod antem præcisum fuerit, nec curari nec sanari potest. Cum ergo sit ille caput Ecclesiæ et sit corpus ejus Ecclesia, totus Christus et caput et corpus est.

together in love, and this unity speaks whenever one man speaks.[1]

The Church's spiritual life is quickened by the Holy Ghost. What the soul is to man's body, the divine Spirit is to Christ's mystical body, the Church. The operations are various as the activities of the members of the human body are various, but the source of these activities is one, just as is the case with the soul in a man's body. This, however, only benefits the faithful united in the Church; heretics who have not "charitas" are cut off from her, "membrum amputatum non sequitur Spiritus." This principle applies also to the life which in the Church is guided by the Divine Spirit.[2] This activity is of course exercised by the Holy Ghost in combination with, and not in separation from, the two other divine Persons.[3]

[1] AUG., *Tract.* XXXII. 7 *in ev. Joann.* cap. VII. (MIGNE, P. L. XXXV. 1645).

[2] AUG., *Sermo* cclxvii. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 1231): Si vultis habere Spiritum sanctum, intendite fratres mei: spiritus noster quo vivit omnis homo anima vocatur; . . . et videtis quid faciat anima in corpore. Omnia membra vegetat; per oculos videt, per aures audit, . . . officia diversa sunt, vita communis. Sic est Ecclesia Dei: in aliis sanctis facit miracula, in aliis sanctis loquitur veritatem, in aliis sanctis custodit virginitatem, in aliis sanctis custodit pudicitiam conjugalem, in aliis hoc, in aliis illud; singuli propria operantur, sed pariter vivunt. Quod antem est anima corpori hominis, hoc est Spiritus sanctus corpori Christi quod est Ecclesia; hoc agit Spiritus sanctus in tota Ecclesia quod agit anima in omnibus membris unius corporis. . . .

[3] AUG. *Sermo* lxxi. 20 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 463): Sed ut jam non semel diximus, ideo remissio peccatorum, qua in se divisi spiritus evertitur et expellitur regnum, ideo societas

In this way all the faithful are in the "Communion of Saints," *i.e.*, of all the elect of God, and are called to fellowship with the angels; they form one whole, an organism based upon Christ and quickened by the Holy Ghost. From this it follows that the spiritual blessings gained by some through the assistance of God's grace can benefit others.

unitatis Ecclesiæ Dei, extra quam non fit ipsa remissio peccatorum, tanquam proprium est opus Spiritus sancti, Patre sane et Filio cooperantibus, quia societas est quodam modo Patris et Filii ipse Spiritus sanctus.

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERCESSION AND MERITORIOUS WORKS OF THE FAITHFUL FOR EACH OTHER.

INTERCESSORY prayer occupies the same position, both in the public services of the Church and in the religious life of the individual, as in the preceding period. As far as the liturgy is concerned, it is principally at the eucharistic celebration that we find intercessions for the whole Church, for those in authority, for the army, for all who are in any special distress. It is sufficient to refer to the mystagogical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who witnesses for the whole Church, as may be proved from the evidence of the early liturgies.[1] At other religious services, when the faithful assembled to sing psalms and join in prayer, the present and departed believers and others were kept in mind, as we learn from the description of the liturgical practices observed in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century and preserved for us in the "Peregrinatio Silviæ."[2] The doctors of

[1] CYRILL. HEROS., *Catechesis migstag.* V. 8 (ed. Reischl and Rupp, II. 384): Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων, ἐπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ὑπερ τῶν κατοπονουμένων, καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμεθα πάντες ἡμεῖς καὶ ταύτην προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν.

[2] S. SILVIÆ AQUITANÆ *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed.

the Church belonging to this period attach great importance to these prayers. In numerous passages of their writings, as in their letters, addresses, and at the conclusion of treatises, they request the prayers of clergy and people for themselves in different circumstances. Frequently they state the particular form they wish the intercessions to take, as, for instance, St. Hilary asks those to whom he addresses his book on synods to remember his exile in their holy prayers.[1] St. Basil, seeking to stir up the bishops of Gaul, Italy, and the Islands of the Mediterranean to interpose in the disputes in the East, does not omit to remind them that if they are unable to visit Asia Minor in the body, they can yet give practical effect to their communion in the Church by their prayers; for their prayers will be no small assistance to the oppressed church of Asia Minor in her troubles.[2] St. Basil also appeals to Bishop Eusebius of Samosata,

Gamurrini (*Bibl. dell' Accad. stor.-giur.* IV. Romæ, 1887), p. 78: Unus ex diaconibus facit commemorationem singulorum, sicut solet esse consuetudo. Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina semper pixinni plurimi stant respondentes semper: Kyrie eleyson, quod dicimus nos: Miserere Domine; quorum voces infinitæ sunt. Et utubi daconus perdixerit omnia quæ dicere habet, dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus; et sic orant omnes, tam fideles quam et cathecumeni simul.

[1] HILARIUS, *Liber de synodis*, 92 (MIGNE, P. L. X. 546): Mementote exilii mei in orationibus sanctis: a quo me, post expositionem hujus fidei, nescio an tam jucundum est ad vos in Domino Jesu Christo reverti quam securum est mori.

[2] BASILIUS M., *Epist.* II. cciii. 3: *Maritimis episcopis* (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 741); ccxliii: *ad episcopos Italos et Gallos*, 1 (*ibid.* 901-904).

when asking his opinion on various questions, to reply as quickly as possible, if a messenger be forthcoming, but if not to pray that God would guide him according to His will. He then adds the prayer that they may especially remember him at the liturgical assemblies, that he, the bishop, along with the people entrusted to his care may fulfil the remaining days or hours of their pilgrimage according to God's good pleasure.[1] We meet with the same idea in almost all Greek and Latin writers of the Church in that age, and no more need be said on the subject. Bishops exhort the faithful in their sermons to be diligent in intercession, and endeavour by all means to stir them up to zeal in this duty. St. John Chrysostom alludes to the example of St. Paul, who prayed not for one city alone but for the whole world, and that not once or twice or thrice but without ceasing, and appealed to the conscience of his hearers to do likewise. Can one of us boast, he says, that in his private prayers he remembers the whole Church? He considers this question must be answered in the negative ;[2] still it shows that people prayed privately for individuals even if they failed to do so for the whole Church. The passage in 2 Cor. i. 11 (Adjuvantibus et vobis in oratione pro nobis, &c.) gives Chrysostom the opportunity to speak fully of prayer for others. It is very pleasing to God to thank Him for the benefits He confers upon others,

[1] Basilius M., *Epist.* II. cxxxviii. 2 : *Eusebio episcopo samosatorum* (Migne, P. G. XXXII. 581). *Cf.* clv. (*ibid.* 612-13).

[2] Joan. Chrys., *Hom.* II. *in epist. ad Romanos* (I. 9), 2 (Migne, P. G. LX. 402 *et seq.*).

for the man who gladly prays and returns thanks for others does the same still more gladly for himself. Thereupon the preacher exhorts his hearers : " Let us then unite in constant prayers and intercessions for each other as the first Christians did for the apostles." He further advises them to betake themselves as opportunity offers to holy men who may return thanks on their behalf, and to do the same for one another. He alludes to the directions of the Church enjoining prayers of this kind for the faithful and especially for catechumens.[1]

The faithful ought to try by almsgiving to make sure of the prayers of the needy whom they have relieved. And so St. Basil exhorts those who have fallen into the sin of drunkenness to redeem themselves from sin by almsgiving, interpreting in this sense Prov. xiii. 8 (Pretium redemptionis viri sunt suæ ipsius divitiæ). By almsgiving the sinner may gain the poor as his companions in prayer, and so the more quickly obtain pardon for his sinful error.[2]

St. Ambrose bases the duty of intercession on love of the brethren, which binds together all the members of the Church, the common mother of all believers, and also on the need of solidarity among all in this respect. If a Christian, for instance, prays only for

[1] Joan. Chrys., *Hom.* II. *in epist.* 2 *ad Cor.*, 4-5 (Migne, P. G. LXI. 396 *et seq.*). *Cf. hom.* XVIII. *in* 2 *ad Cor.*, 2 *Cor.* III. 20-24 (*ibid.* 525 *et seqq.*), where the duty of taking part in the prayers of the congregation is enforced. Basilius M., *Moralia*, Reg. LVI. 5 (Migne, P. G. XXXI. 785); Reg. LXVI. 2 (*ibid.* 805).

[2] Basilius M. *Hom.* XIV. *in ebriosos*, 8 (Migne, P. G. XXXI. 461).

himself, he prays alone for himself, but if each prays for all, then also all pray for each, and it is just in this that the advantage of the Communion of Saints consists for the faithful. At the same time it is a sign of humility, and on this account prayers in common produce the greater fruit.[1]

The other fathers belonging to this period express themselves in the same way when speaking of the intercessions of the faithful for each other and for all mankind.[2] The faithful may also pray to God on behalf of the heathen, heretics, and sinners separated from the Church. But in this case intercession has another meaning; its object here is the conversion of unbelievers and sinners, or the obtaining of external peace in order the Church may freely develop. The special fruit of intercession is imparted only to

[1] AMBROSIUS, *De Cain et Abel*, I. 39 (*Migne, P. L.* XIV. 354): Orandum autem præcipue et pro populo doceris (1 Tim II. 1), hoc est pro toto corpore, pro membris omnibus matris tuæ, in quo mutuæ charitatis est insigne. Si enim pro te roges tantum, solus pro te rogabis. Et si pro se tantum singuli orent, minor peccatoris quam intercedentis est gratia. Nunc autem quia singuli orant pro omnibus, etiam omnes orant pro singulis. Ergo ut concludamus, si pro te roges tantum, solus, ut diximus, pro te rogabis. Si autem pro omnibus roges, omnes pro te rogabunt, siquidem et tu in omnibus es. Ita magna remuneratio est, ut orationibus singulorum acquirantur singulis totius plebis suffragia. In quo arrogantia nulla, sed humilitas major est et fructus uberior.

[2] *Cf.* for example, RUFINUS AQUIL., *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*, 1; AUGUSTINUS, *Epist.* XX. (*ad Antoninum*) 2; *epist.* CCXXXI. (*ad Darium*) 6; *Tract in evang. Joannis*, V. 20; HIERONYMUS, *epist.* lxxiv. *ad Rufinum*, 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 685), and many other passages of these and other writers.

believers in the Church; they alone benefit by the prayers offered up for the Church, these being solely for those who are truly members of the Church. It is interesting to note in this connection how St. Augustine explains the words already quoted (p. 105) of St. Fructuosus in the acts of this holy bishop and his companions.[1] If a man deliberately and obstinately severs himself from the inner and outer communion of the Church by impenitent persistence in a "peccatum ad mortem," for such an one, according to St. Jerome, shall no one pray, *i.e.*, as follows from the argument, shall not pray as if by his intercessions and prayers he can obtain the justification which is lacking to that man so long as he remains hardened in his sin.[2] This points to the conclusion

[1] AUG. *Sermo* cclxxiii. *in natali Fructuosi episcopi* (etc.), 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 1249): Inter cætera, quale erat illud beati Fructuosi episcopi? Cum ei diceret quidam et peteret ut eum in mente haberet et oraret pro illo, respondit: "Me orare necesse est pro Ecclesia catholica, ab oriente usque ad occidentem diffusa." Quis enim orat pro singulis? Sed neminem singulorum prætcrit, qui orat pro universis. Ab eo nullum membrum prætermittitur, cujus oratio pro toto corpore funditur. Quid ergo vobis videtur admonuisse istum, a quo rogabatur ut oraret pro eo? quid putatis? Sine dubio, intelligitis. Commemoramini a nobis. Rogabat ille ut oraret pro illo. "Et ego," inquit, "oro pro Ecclesia catholica, ab oriente usque ad occidentem diffusa." Tu si vis ut pro te orem, noli recedere ab illa pro qua oro.

[2] HIERONYMUS, *Comm. in Jeremiam* III. 14 (MIGNE, P. L. XXIV. 802): Stultum est orare pro eo qui peccaverit ad mortem, dicente Joanne: "Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis" (1 Joan. v. 16). Omnis iniquitas peccatum est, et est peccatum non ad mortem. Jejunia et preces et victimæ et holocausta tunc proficiunt, cum recedimus

that all graces and supernatural fruits of prayer granted in answer to the intercessions of the Church and of the faithful—conversion to the Church and to a Christian life within her communion alone excepted—can only be obtained by those united as members with the mystical body of Christ. Accordingly, it is a great advantage to belong to the communion of the Church, and, from this point of view, intercessory prayer is a practical expression of that spiritual union which binds together the members of Christ's mystical body. St. Augustine has developed this idea in a passage of one of his writings against the Donatists which has important bearing on our subject. He asks if the prayers of the saints in the Church (by which he means those actually alive on the earth either by themselves or in conjunction with the departed) may not, by a special dispensation of divine mercy, atone for the sins of those who, after having been baptized outside the Church, return to Church unity. He goes on to say that the prayers of the saints do not avail for the man who is in heresy or schism, nor for the man who, although baptized in the Church, yet by a wicked life remains in the guilt of sin.[1] In

a vitiis et flemus antiqua peccata. Sin autem in sceleribus permanentes, putaverimus votis atque sacrificiis redimere nos, vehementer erramus, iniquum arbitrantes Deum. Qui enim semel gladio et fami et pesti fuerit destinatus, nullis precibus erui potest. Unde et Prophetæ dicitur, ne frustra roget quod impetrare non possit (Jerem. XIV. 11-12).

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *de baptismo contra Donatistas* III. 17 (MIGNE, P. L. XLIII. 149 *et seq.*): Nam quod in typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem, ut id solveretur in terris quod ille solvisset, manifestum est quod illa unitas etiam una columba

order to show the great benefit of the prayers of the just still alive on the earth, St. Augustine appeals to the passage in the book of Exodus (xxxii. 32) where Moses implores the Lord, if He will not pardon the sin of the children of Israel, to strike him out of the book that He has written.[1] He avails himself of the duty of intercessory prayer in order to address suitable exhortations to his flock.[2]

perfecta sit dicta. Numquid ergo ad eandem columbam pertinent omnes avari, de quibus in eadem catholica graviter idem Cyprianus ingemuit? Nam, ut opinor, raptores non columbæ sed accipitres dici possunt. Quomodo ergo baptizabant qui fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapiebant et usuris multiplicantibus fenus augebant, si sola illa columba, id est, illa unitas quæ nisi in bonis intelligi non potest, simplex et casta et perfecta baptizat? An forte per orationes sanctorum spiritualium qui sunt in Ecclesia, tanquam per columbæ creberrimum gemitum, magnum geritur sacramentum et occulta dispensatio misericordiæ Dei, ut eorum etiam peccata solvantur qui non per columbam sed per accipitrem baptizantur, si ad illud sacramentum cum pace catholicæ unitatis accedunt? Quod si ita est, cur non ergo per eorum orationes cum quisque ab hæresi aut schismate ad pacem catholicam venit ejus peccata solvantur? Sacramenti autem integritas ubique cognoscitur, sed peccatorum illam irrevocabilem remissionem extra unitatem Ecclesiæ non valebit. Nec in hæresi aut schismate constitutum sanctorum orationes, id est illius unicæ columbæ gemitus, poterunt adjuvare, sicut nec intus positum possunt, si adversum se ipse per vitam pessimam teneat debita peccatorum, non solum si per accipitrem, sed etiam si per ipsius columbæ pium ministerium baptizetur.

[1] *Enarratio in Ps. CV.* 21, on verse 23 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVII. 1412): Ubi demonstratum est intercessio sanctorum quantum pro aliis valeat apud Deum. Securus enim Moyses de justitia Dei, qua eum delere non posset, impetravit misericordiam, ne illos, quos juste posset, deleret.

[2] AUG., *Sermo* ccvii. 3 (MIGNE P. L. XXXVIII. 1044):

When attacking Pelagianism, St. Augustine does not neglect to seize the opportunity to appeal to intercessory prayer as an argument for divine grace and its necessity for justification. The Church prays not only for the faithful that they may persevere, but also for unbelievers that they may too believe. For since the fall those who are delivered from the general condemnation can only be delivered by the grace of God, and what the law enjoins can only be fulfilled by God's assistance, hence prayer is made to God both for the faithful and the unbelieving. The Pelagians reject the necessity of divine grace, and on this account desire to suppress the prayers offered up in the whole Church.[1] It is

Certe sicut nos apti efficimur ad orandum eleemosynis et iejuniis sic et ipsa nostra oratio facit eleemosynas, cum dirigitur atque profunditur, non pro amicis tantum, verum etiam pro inimicis, et jejunat ab ira et odio et a perniciosissimis vitiis. *Cf. Epistola* XX. *ad Antoninum*, 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIII. 87): Gratior est enim Deo pro fratre deprecatio, ubi sacrificium caritatis offertur.

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Opus imperf. contra Julianum* VI. xli. (MIGNE, P. L. XLV. 1606): Unde sancta ecclesia per ora supplicantium sacerdotum non solum pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod credunt perseverante pietate non dificiant, verum etiam pro infidelibus orat ut credant. Ex quo enim per humanum liberum arbitrium Adam commisit illud grande peccatum et omne genus humanum in commune damnavit, ab hac communi damnatione homines quicumque liberantur, nonnisi divina gratia et misericordia liberantur; et quidquid lex Dei jubet, nonnisi eo qui jubet adjuvante, inspirante, donante completur; qui rogatur ut permaneant, ut proficiant, ut perficiantur fideles; qui rogatur etiam ut credere incipiant infideles. Quas ecclesiæ sanctæ preces toto terrarum orbe crescentes et ferventes opprimere ac extinguere cupiunt, qui contra istam Dei

obvious from this, that in St. Augustines' teaching on the necessity of grace, intercession for all the needs of the believer's religious life was of essential importance, and that on the grounds adduced by himself in the passage just quoted.

Not only by prayer, but by other good works meritorious before God, the faithful may obtain spiritual benefits for their brethren in the Church. St. Ambrose, following out the idea of the passage already quoted (p. 169) on the fellowship of believers in the Church, by virtue of which Christ has committed to the Church the office of saving a soul through the instrumentality of others, goes on to explain the words, "Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new paste, as you are unleavened," to the effect that the whole Church takes over the burden of each man's sins, compassionating him with tears, prayer, and suffering: she covers herself, as it were, with the leaven of the sins of each of her members, so that whatever has to be blotted out in the life of each penitent is cleansed through the universal pity and compassion.[1] St. Ambrose has plainly in view the

gratiam humanæ voluntatis arbitrium, ut gravius de alto præcipitent, extollunt potius quam defendunt.

[1] AMBROSIUS, *de pœnitentia* I. 15 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 511): Consideremus ipsum Apostoli sermonem: "Expurgate vetus fermentum ut sitis nova conspersio sicut estis azymi" (1 Cor. v. 7). Sive quod tota Ecclesia suscipiat onus peccatoris, cui compatiendum et fletu et oratione et dolore est, et quasi fermento ejus se totam conspergat, ut per universos ea quæ superflua sunt in aliquo pœnitentia agente virilis misericordiæ aut compassionis velut collativa quadam admixtione purgentur; sive ut illa mulier evangelica docet (St. Luke xiii. 21), quæ

works of penance and mortification which are fulfilled in the Church, either in obedience to the discipline enjoined upon all, or voluntarily undertaken by the individual himself—*i.e.*, fasting and other penitential exercises—the merits obtained thereby being available for sinful members of the Church. This passage, bearing directly on the question with which we are dealing, is based upon the same idea which we have already met with in connection with the letters of peace given by the confessors of the third century, *i.e.*, the possibility that believers by their good works may satisfy before God for the sins of others.

On yet another occasion the great bishop of Milan alludes to this virtue of good works. In his work "De virginibus," after describing the virtues in which those who desire to dedicate themselves to God in the ascetic life must exercise themselves, he addresses the parents of these consecrated virgins as follows:— "Ye parents have now heard in what virtues ye must instruct your daughters, and what doctrines ye must teach them, in order that they may atone for your transgressions by their merits. A virgin is a gift to God, her father's present, a priestess of purity; she is her mother's sacrifice offered to God, by whose oblation, daily renewed, the divine majesty is appeased.[1] We have here exactly the same idea which we met with above, *i.e.*, that good works have the power of satisfying for others. We learn from this that it was no mere casual thought to which St.

typum prætendit Ecclesiæ, eo quod fermentum abscondit in farina sua donec fermentetur totum, ut mundum omne sumatur.

[1] AMBROSIUS, *de virginibus* I. 7 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 208-209).

Ambrose gave expression in his explanation of the passage concerning the leaven of sins, but rather his firm conviction on this point. Nor is there any doubt that St. Ambrose was not alone in this; on the contrary, he expressed what was the universal belief of the Church. The same belief underlies the thoughts to which St. Ambrose gave expression, somewhat oratorically, on the death of his brother Satyrus, whose constant desire it had been that, if suffering awaited either the Church or himself personally, it might first of all come upon him and his house; "Thank God that I, in this universal fear, when everything was anticipated from the undertakings of the barbarians, by my own sufferings have averted the grief of all, and that what I dreaded for all has been diverted upon myself. May it suffice, and may my suffering be the redemption of the public grief." [1]

We shall see how not only prayer and especially intercession at the eucharistic sacrifice, but even alms, were offered up for the departed, and that the faithful, as the doctors of the Church were convinced, could thereby come to the assistance of departed souls. This takes for granted the belief that by works well pleasing to God one could obtain benefits from God for others.

All this goes to show to what importance the practice of intercessory prayer had attained in Christian thought and practice in this period.

[1] AMBROSIUS, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri* I. 1 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1347).

CHAPTER III.

VARIOUS FORMS OF INTERCESSION FOR THE DEAD, AND THE INVOCATION OF DEPARTED SOULS.

THE practice of assisting departed souls and ameliorating their condition by prayers, especially in connection with the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, by alms, and by invoking the martyrs was generally observed throughout the whole Church. The evidence for it is so extensive that any special proof of the practice of prayers for the departed in this period seems superfluous.[1] Our intention is only to enquire in what sense these prayers were regarded, and what light such formularies throw upon the beliefs held respecting the inner spiritual union existing among all members of the kingdom of God.

In the first place, these prayers were offered directly for the dead with the view of gaining a share in God's grace for them after death. It follows from this that the faithful on earth were convinced that they were so far in relation with the departed souls that their intercessions availed to procure God's assistance for them. We have seen already that the departed did not cease to belong to the body of the Church (p. 170), and that they like the living could also share

[1] *Cf.* among others, A. SCHWANE, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. II. 2nd ed. pp. 589-593, and the article, *Gebet* (liturgisches) by KRIEG in KRAUS, *Realencyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer* I. 563 *et seq.*

in the spiritual fruits of this fellowship. Several of the fathers bring various arguments to prove that these intercessions did really benefit the departed. St. Cyril of Jerusalem endeavoured to refute those who doubted whether the commemoration of souls who had departed this life, with or without sin, at the eucharistic sacrifice could do them any good. He appeals by way of proof to the comparison of a king whom the relatives of those who have been banished petition for their pardon. In the same way, he says, do we pray God for the dead, even when they have been sinners, while we offer Christ, who was slain for our sins, in order that God may be propitiated for them and for us.[1] The underlying conviction is that God pardons the sins which have stained departed souls for the sake of prayer and the eucharistic sacrifice, and remits their punishment. In the same way St. John Chrysostom exhorts his hearers to bring practical help, no matter how little, to departed sinners by praying for them themselves, by begging others to pray for them, and by constantly giving alms to the poor on their behalf. He quotes the passage from 4 Kings xx. 6: "I will protect this city for my own sake and for

[1] CYRILLUS HIER., *Catechesis myst.* V. 10 (ed. Rupp, II. p. 386): *Οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς τοῦτο λέγοντες· τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ μετὰ ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλασσομένη τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἢ οὐ μεθ' ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐὰν ἐτὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται; ἆρα γὰρ εἴ τις βασιλεὺς προσκεκρουκότας αὐτῷ ἐξορίστους ποιήσειεν, εἶτα οἱ τούτοις διαφέροντες, στέφανον πλέξαντες, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τιμωρίαις αὐτῷ τοῦτον προσενέγκοιεν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν δῴη τῶν κολάσεων; τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων αὐτῷ τὰς δεήσεις προσφέροντες κἂν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὦσιν, οὐ στέφανον πλέκομεν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρομεν, ἐξιλευόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεόν.*

David my servant's sake," and explains it as a proof of the virtue of these good works. "If indeed the mere memory of a just man avails so much, how can the performance of good works for a departed soul fail to have effect?" Then he alludes to "the ordinance instituted by the apostles to commemorate the departed at the celebration of the eucharistic mysteries; they knew well how great profit flowed therefrom. When the whole people stands with uplifted hands with the entire host of the priests and the dread sacrifice lies in the altar, how can we fail to soften God's heart towards them?" He adds, this avails only for those who have departed in the true faith; with regard to catechumens, he can see only the possibility of obtaining alleviation for their souls by giving alms on their behalf.[1] The utility of prayers for the dead at the eucharistic sacrifice is thus bound up with membership in the Church, thus showing how in Chrysostom's mind this highest and best manner of aiding departed souls formed part of the spiritual fellowship between the members of the Lord's body. In another passage he says so distinctly. He is speaking against unrestrained grief over the death of friends and relatives, even when they have been sinners. "Did he die as a sinner," he asks, "then thou shouldst rejoice that his life of sin is now cut short, and that he can no longer add to his load of guilt? Thou shouldst as much as possible come to

[1] JOANNES CHRYS., *Hom. III. in epist. ad Philipp.* 4 (MIGNE, P. G. LXII. 203 *et seq.*). *Cf. hom.* XXI. *in Actus Apost.* 4 (MIGNE, P. G. LX. 170-171); *in Joan. hom.* LXII. 5 (MIGNE, P. G. LIX. 347 *et seq.*).

his assistance, not with tears, but with prayers and entreaties, with alms and sacrifices. For not without reason is it so appointed; not in vain do we commemorate the dead at the celebration of the divine mysteries, and approach the altar on their behalf, and implore the Lamb there present who takes away the sin of the world; for there is some relief given to the dead thereby." Further on he appeals to Job's sacrifice for his children, and adds: "God is gracious towards one man for another's sake." He then returns to the intercessions at the eucharistic sacrifice and establishes their utility in the following manner; "Therefore we pray confidently for the whole world and remember the dead along with the martyrs, along with the confessors and priests. For we are all one body, although one member is more honourable than another, and it is possible for us by prayers and sacrifices, and by the intercessions of those whose names we mention with the rest to obtain for them full forgiveness."[1] The preacher here emphasizes another activity of that fellowship which finds expression in the fact that the names of the dead were mentioned along with those of the martyrs and saints, with the object of procuring for the departed souls the intercession of the latter. We shall deal more at length with this point later on. St. Augustine also brings forth proofs that the alms and prayers offered for departed souls at the sacrifice were of practical benefit to them. He appeals to the tradition of the fathers and the universal practice of the Church in

[1] JOAN. CHRYS., *Hom. XLI. in epist. 1 ad. Cor.* 4-5 (MIGNE, P. G. LXI. 360-61).

commemorating them at the eucharistic sacrifice, and since the prayers for them are not offered in vain, we must not doubt that works of mercy, by which souls are commended to God, are equally beneficial to them. There can be no doubt that prayers and good works benefit the dead who have lived in such a way that they can benefit them.[1] And it is these meritorious works alone which have power to aid the dead; all external arrangements at the burial and at the memorial celebration of the dead avail them nothing.

The conviction was universal in the Church that departed souls were assisted by the above mentioned means. The passage from St. Cyril already quoted

[1] AUG., *Sermo* clxxii. 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 936 *et seq.*): Orationibus sanctæ Ecclesiæ et sacrificio salutari et eleemosynis, quæ pro eorum spiritibus erogantur, non est dubitandum mortuos adjuvari, ut cum eis misericordius agatur a Domino, quam eorum peccata meruerunt. Hoc enim a patribus traditum, universa observat Ecclesia, ut pro eis, qui in corporis et sanguinis Christi communione defuncti sunt, cum ad ipsum sacrificium loco suo commemorantur, oretur ac pro illis quoque id offerri commemoretur. Cum vero eorum commemorandorum causa opera misericordiæ celebrantur, quis eis dubitet suffragari, pro quibus orationes Deo non inaniter allegantur? Non omnino ambigendum est, ista prodesse defunctis, sed talibus qui ita vixerint ante mortem, ut possint eis hæc utilia esse post mortem. Nam qui sine fide quæ per dilectionem operatur (Galat. v. 6), ejusque sacramentis de corporibus exierunt, frustra illis a suis hujus modi pietatis impenduntur officia, cujus dum hic essent pignore caruerunt, vel non suscipientes vel in vacuum suscipientes Dei gratiam, et sibi non misericordiam thesaurizantes sed iram. Non ergo mortuis nova merita comparantur, cum pro eis boni aliquid operantur sui, sed eorum præcedentibus consequentia ista redduntur.

(p. 190) does indeed refer to persons who denied this, and raised objections to the practice of prayers for the dead such as we find in the second of the questions addressed to St. Augustine by Dulcitius. Dulcitius objects that only a man's own deeds can bring him good or ill, moreover if others can confer benefits on the souls in the next world, then one must also grant that the departed themselves can obtain their own relief by confessing their sins.[1] St. Augustine replies by sending two extracts from his writings, "De cura pro mortuis" and the "Enchiridion," which we shall discuss more particularly later on. Apart from objections raised in particular quarters, we do not find that prayers for the dead were opposed on principle, or ever abandoned in practice within the Catholic Church. On the contrary, all ecclesiastical writers without exception who at all touch upon the question justify the belief and the religious practices to which it gave rise. The one person, as far as we know, who definitely pronounced against prayers and good works for the dead was Aërius, who was ordained priest in 360 by the semi-arian bishop Eusthatius of Sebaste in Armenia, and then, in opposition to his former friend, founded a sect of his own. Epiphanius wrote against his errors,

[1] AUG., *De octo Dulcitii quæstionibus*, 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 157): Secunda tua quæstio est; utrum oblatio quæ fit pro quiescentibus aliquid eorum conferat animabus; cum evidenter nostris aut sublevemur actibus, aut gravemur; si quidem legamus, quod in inferno nemo jam possit Domino confiteri. Ad quod multi dicunt quod si aliquis beneficii in hoc locus possit esse post mortem, quanto magis sibi anima ferret ipsa refrigerium, sua per se illic confitendo peccata, quam in eorum refrigerium ab aliis oblatio procuratur?

among which was the condemnation of prayers for the dead. He admitted that the commemoration of the dead did good to the living inasmuch as it strengthened their belief in the future life, and was an expression of the hope that it was well with the departed. As far as concerns the dead, the "memento" availed for those who had been stained with sin; the just and the saints were mentioned in order to honour Christ.[1] Moreover it is certainly the Church's tradition to do so.

The next question is, what souls can derive benefit from this intercession? It is plain, in the first place, that the presentation of the eucharistic sacrifice and the prayers for the dead which accompanied it could avail only for the faithful, for these prayers were offered only for members of the Church. St. John Chrysostom excludes the catechumens; in his opinion alms-giving is the sole way of assisting them.[2] He draws no distinction among the faithful themselves, even "those who had died members of the kingdom without

[1] EPIPHANIUS, *Adv. hæreses* lib. III. hær. lxxv. 8 (MIGNE, P. G. xlii. 513): Ἔπειτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων, τί ἂν εἴη τούτου προὐργιαίτερον; . . . ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γινομένη εὐχὴ, εἴ καὶ τὰ ὅλα τῶν αἰτιαμάτων μὴ ἀποκόπτοι· ἀλλ' οὖν γε διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἐν κόσμῳ ἡμᾶς ὄντας σφάλλεσθαι ἀκουσίως τε καὶ ἑκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ ἐντελέστερον σημανθῇ. Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν· ὑπὲρ μὲν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλέους θεοῦ δεόμενοι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων καὶ πατέρων καὶ πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστον ἀφορίσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμῆς, καὶ σέβας αὐτῷ ἀποδῶμεν, ἐν ἐννοίᾳ ὄντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστίν ἐξισούμενος ὁ κύριος τινὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν τε μυρία καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὑπάρχῃ ἕκαστος ἀνθρώπων.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 191.

thought of using the kingdom for their soul's health, who rejected the opportunities offered them of washing themselves clean from their sins," even these he seems to consider as capable of receiving help from the Church's prayers, because they departed this life in the true faith.[1]

St. Augustine expresses himself with the utmost clearness. In his opinion only the departed who belong to the Church derive benefit from these intercessions: this is an inevitable consequence of his teaching on election. Who does not belong to the kingdom of God cannot be saved, for the Church is the sum of all those upon whom the virtue of Christ's saving death has taken effect. The Church does not pray for the unbelieving and ungodly departed.[2] There is a presumption in favour of all members of the Church that they will belong to God's everlasting kingdom, and so the Church prays at the eucharistic celebration for all the dead who have been her members.[3] By

[1] *Cf.* the whole passage in the fourth homily on Philippians (MIGNE, P. G. LXII., 203 *et seq.*).

[2] AUG., *de civitate Dei*, XXI. 24 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 737): Eadem itaque causa est, cur non oretur tunc (at the last judgment) pro hominibus æterno igne puniendis, quæ causa est, ut neque nunc neque tunc oretur pro angelis malis; quæ itidem causa est, ut quamvis pro hominibus, tamen jam nec nunc oretur pro infidelibus impiisque defunctis. Nam pro defunctis quibusdam vel ipsius Ecclesiæ vel quorumdam piorum exauditur oratio; sed pro his, quorum in Christo regeneratorum nec usque adeo vita in corpore male gesta est ut tali misericordia judicentur digni non esse, nec usque adeo bene, ut talem misericordiam reperiantur necessariam non habere.

[3] AUG., *de civitate Dei*, XXI. 24 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI., 737): Hæc igitur causa, qua fit ut nunc Ecclesia non oret pro malis

praying for all, the Church, as the pious mother of all the faithful, comes to the aid of those departed ones who have no relations or friends to pray or give alms for them, and who after death have nothing to count upon except the general commemoration of the departed at the celebration of the liturgy.[1] As a consequence of this, the private intercessions of the faithful for the dead can also include all members of the Church. Yet it depends upon the life which each departed soul has led, whether or not these inter-

angelis, quos suos esse novit inimicos, eadem ipsa causa est qua fiet ut in illo tunc judicio etiam pro hominibus æterno igne cruciandis, quamvis perfectæ sit sanctitatis, non oret. Nunc enim propterea pro eis orat, quos in genere humano habet inimicos, quia tempus est pœnitentiæ fructuosæ. . . Denique si de aliquibus ita certa esset, ut qui sint illi etiam nosset, qui licet adhuc in hac vita sint constituti, tamen prædestinati sunt in æternum ignem ire cum diabolo, tam pro eis non oraret quam nec pro ipso. Sed quia de nullo certa est, orat pro omnibus duntaxat hominibus inimicis suis in hoc corpore constitutis, nec tamen pro omnibus exauditur. Pro his enim solis exauditur, qui etsi adversantur Ecclesiæ, ita sunt tamen prædestinati ut pro eis exauditur Ecclesia et filii efficiantur Ecclesiæ. Si qui autem usque ad mortem habebunt cor impœnitens, nec ex inimicis convertentur in filios, numquid jam pro eis, id est pro talium defunctorum spiritibus orat Ecclesia? Quid ita, nisi quia jam in parte diaboli computatur qui, dum esset in corpore, non est translatus in Christum?

[1] AUG., *de cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 596): Verum et si aliqua necessitas vel humari corpora, vel in talibus locis humari nulla data facultate permittat non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum! quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia; ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii, aut quicumque cognati vel amici, ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi.

cessions obtain any assistance for it, *i.e.*, whether it has deserved in life to be assisted after death or not. St. Augustine distinguishes between three classes of men: those whose life was neither so good as to dispense with this assistance after death, nor so bad as to render all help unavailing; those whose life was so good and perfect as not to require these intercessions; and those, finally, whose life had been so bad that nothing can be of any use to them after their departure from this world. And so, when the sacrifice of the altar and alms are offered for all departed who have received baptism, it is as a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the perfect, a propitiation for those who have been not altogether bad, while to the altogether bad it brings no assistance at all, but only consolation to the living.[1] Intercessions then avail in any case for all the departed who have definitely belonged to the Church, and who shall at the last day be finally incor-

[1] Aug., *Enchiridion*, 110 (Migne, P. L. XL. 283): Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in Ecclesia fiunt. Sed eis hæc prosunt, qui cum viverent, ut hæc sibi postea possint prodesse, meruerunt. Est enim quidam vivendi modus, nec tam bonus ut non requirat ista post mortem, nec tam malus ut non ei prosint ista post mortem; est vero talis in bono, ut ista non requirat; et est rursus talis in malo, ut nec his valeat, cum ex hac vita transierit, adjuvari. Quocirca hic omne meritum comparatur, quo possit post hanc vitam relevari quispiam vel gravari. . . . Cum ergo sacrificia sive altaris sive quarumcumque eleemosynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt; pro non valde malis propitiationes sunt; pro valde malis etiamsi nulla sunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualescumque vivorum consolationes sunt.

porated in God's heavenly kingdom. Those who at the end of the world shall be definitely excluded from the kingdom of God can receive no help from it. The passage, in which St. Augustine teaches that the souls who derive benefit from prayers obtain therefrom either complete forgiveness or have their condemnation rendered more endurable,[1] evidently refers not to the lost, who belong to the kingdom of the devil, but to the souls who have to endure punishment in the future life before the last judgment without being definitely cut off from the kingdom of God. It is this class to whom the saint refers in the preceding chapter of his Enchiridion.[2] In this connection may be mentioned St. Augustine's opposition to some who believed that God would pardon all sinners at the last judgment in answer to the prayers of His saints, who, the holier they are, pray the more earnestly for their enemies, and are the more deserving of being heard since they are entirely free from sin themselves. The great theologian energetically attacks this opinion, and brings various arguments against it which we have already partially dealt with. His principal argument is that prayers are not offered for those who have been condemned to eternal punishment, for the same reason that no one prays for the evil angels, viz., because they are con-

[1] *Enchiridion*, 110 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 283): Quibus autem prosunt, aut ad hoc prosunt, ut sit plena remissio, aut certe ut tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio.

[2] *Enchiridion*, 109 (MIGNE, *ibid.*): Tempus antem quod inter hominis mortem et ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est, animas abditis receptaculis continet, sicut unaquaque digna est vel requie vel ærumna, pro eo quod sortita est in carne cum viveret.

demned to everlasting punishment in accordance with the decisions of Christ Himself.[1]

St. Augustine describes in various ways how departed souls can obtain help through the prayers of the living. Forgiveness has regard to those sins with which the soul was burdened when it passed into the future life.[2] This implies that the sufferings which souls have to undergo in the future life are lessened, since God, in answer to the intercessions of the Church and the faithful, pardons those sins on account of which they suffer.[3] Furthermore, we find petitions that God would receive the souls of the departed,[4] and we still meet with the idea common in the preceding period that the evil one places himself by

[1] AUG., *de civitate Dei* XXI. 24 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 736-741). In addition to the passages already quoted from this section, the following must be noted: Sicut etiam facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt quibus post pœnas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, impertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur æternum. Neque enim de quibusdam veraciter diceretur, quod non eis remittatur neque in hoc sæculo neque in futuro (St. Matth. xii. 32), nisi essent quibus etsi non in isto, tamen remittetur in futuro. Sed cum dictum fuerit a judice vivorum atque mortuorum: "Venite, benedicti Patris mei etc." (St. Matth. xxv. 34, 41, 46), nimiæ præsumptionis est dicere, cuiquam eorum æternum supplicium non futurum, quos Deus ituros in supplicium dixit æternum, et per hujus præsumptionis persuasionem facere ut de ipsa quoque vita vel desperetur vel dubitetur æterna.

[2] *Cf.* in addition to many of the passages already quoted: JOAN. CHRYS., *in Joan. hom.* LXII. 5 (MIGNE, P. G. LIX. 347 *et seq.*); AMBROSIUS, *de excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I. 5 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1348).

[3] *Vide ante*, p. 190.

[4] For example, GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* VII. *in laudem Cæsarii fratris*, 24 (*Migne, P. G.* XXXV. 787).

the soul at its departure from this world, and so these petitions mean that God may protect the soul from his assaults.[1] The representations which the fathers give on this point naturally agree with their views on eschatological questions in general. It is not within our province to go further into this particular point.[2]

The different kinds of intercessions mentioned by the writers of this period may be reduced to four: (1) The private prayers of the faithful. These are not merely spoken of in passing,[3] but we are able to learn the nature of their contents in general from the intercessions frequently introduced by bishops into the conclusions of funeral sermons. The formulæ and expressions here employed, apart from their oratorical dress, are doubtless taken from those in common use.[4] (2) The eucharistic sacrifice, with the intercessions offered up by the clergy and people assisting thereat.[5]

[1] *Cf.* for example, AUGUSTINUS, *Conf.* 13, where he says of his deceased mother: Nemo a protectione tua dirumpat eam. Non se interponat nec vi nec insidiis leo et draco. AMBROSIUS, *de excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I. 29 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1356).

[2] The answer to the question if souls can now attain to perfect bliss through the prayers of others depends upon the view whether or not souls can attain to a final state of blessedness at all before the last judgment. *Cf.* for example, AUGUSTINUS, *Quæst. evang.* II. 38, on Lazarus (MIGNE, P. L. XXXV. 1351), where he has some remarks about the relief given to the dead by prayer in general.

[3] *Cf. vide ante*, p. 190 *et seq.*

[4] *Eg.*, AMBROSIUS, *de excessu Satyri*, I. 80; GREG. NAZ., *Oratio in laudem Cæsarii*, 24; MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 787.

[5] *Vide ante*, p. 190 *et seqq.* *Cf.* EUSEBIUS, *de vita Constantini*, IV. 71 (ed. Heinichen, II. 189). CYRILL. HIER., *Catech. myst.* V. 9-10. GREG. NAZ., *in laud. Cæsarii*, 17. AMBROSIUS, *de excessu Satyri*, I. 1; II. 2; *de obitu Theodosii*, 3; *de obita*

(3) Almsgiving, by which is chiefly to be understood the funeral agapé at which the poor were fed. There is no doubt that alms were regarded as a means of obtaining God's protection and pardon for sins for departed souls. The statements of St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine are quite clear and definite. The benefit to the souls came partly from alms being in themselves a work well pleasing to God, and partly because the poor felt all the more bound to pray for the dead in return for the kindness shewn to them.[1] These funeral agapés on the festival of martyrs and at eucharists celebrated for the departed led to great abuses, degenerating into orgies at which many gave way to immoderate eating and drinking.[2] These feasts also gave rise to the idea among the uneducated that the dead themselves could find pleasure in the

Valentiniani, I.; *ep. ad Faustinum*, XXXIX. 4. JOAN. CHRYS., *in Act. Apost. hom.* XXI. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. LX. 170 *et seq.*). ZENO, I. *tract.* XVI. 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XI. 378). AUG., *Confessiones*, IX. 12, 13, where, amongst other things, we read: Meminerint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria et fratrum meorum sub te patre in matre catholica et civium meorum in æterna Jerusalem, cui suspirat peregrinatio populi tui ab exitu usque ad reditum.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 195 *et seq.* AMBROSIUS, *de excessu fratris*, I. 5 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1348): especially JOAN. CHRYS., *in Act. Apost. hom.* XXI. 3 (MIGNE, P. G. LX. 169); AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion*, 110 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 283).

[2] AUG., *De moribus Ecclesiæ*, I. 34 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXII. 1342): Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. . . . Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores; novi multos esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.

enjoyment of the food and drink placed upon their tombs. This form of superstition probably arose from the fact that the viands for the poor at the agapé were placed on the graves of the martyrs, and even of others, in the cemetery churches, when the form of these monuments allowed of it. The remembrance of heathen funeral feasts helped to increase these superstitious ideas. Nevertheless such remembrances did not give rise to the idea that the dead might be helped by alms, for this opinion is part of the entire development of the doctrine which we are discussing. St. Augustine condemns these abuses in different passages of his writings and did his best to put an end to them in Africa.[1] (4) We must deal at greater length with the fourth way of helping souls, as it has special bearings on our subject: the invocation of the martyrs on behalf of the dead. We have seen how in the monuments in the Roman catacombs as early as the third century, saints (the apostles and martyrs) appear as the patrons of departed souls with God, and how on this account the departed were commended to them (*vide ante*, p. 115 *et seqq.*). This view became more deeply rooted in the Church as the worship of the martyrs increased during the fourth and fifth centuries. It finds frequent expression in the writings and epitaphs of the period, and led to the custom of placing the bodies of the dead as close as possible to a martyr's grave, in the hope that the martyrs would be the more moved to take an interest

[1] *Confessiones*, VI. 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXII. 719); *epist.* xxii. 6 (*ibid.* XXXIII. 92); *contra Faustum.* XX. 21 (MIGNE, XLII. 384 *et seq.*).

in them. In one of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzum in memory of Cæsarius, he directly invokes the martyrs close to whose tombs his brother had been buried to be gracious to him and to receive him into their bosom.[1] St. John Chrysostom commemorates the dead along with the martyrs and confessors at the eucharist in order that the departed souls may obtain full forgiveness of their sins through the intercession of the saints.[2] In many inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries the martyrs are directly invoked for their intercessions on behalf of the person commemorated in the inscription. Thus in the catacomb of Prætextatus there is an inscription scraped on the still soft plaster of a loculus in the crypt of St. Januarius:

> . . . mi refrigeri (= refrigerent) Januarius, Agatopus, Felicissimus martyres.[3]

The missing words at the beginning were plainly the word "spiritui," or some similar word, with the name of the deceased, which ended in "mi."

A Roman inscription preserved in the museum at Naples concludes with the words:

> Sancte Laurenti, suscepta(m) (h)abeto anim(am . . .).[4]

Another, formerly in the church of St. Prassede in

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *Epitaphia. In Cæsarium*, XX. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVIII. 20 *et seq.*):

> Γείτονες, εὐμενέοιτε καὶ ἐν κόλποισι δέχοισθε,
> Μάρτυρες, ὑπετέροις αἷμα το Γρηγορίου,
> Γρηγορίου Νόννης τε μεγακλέος εὐσεβίῃ τε
> Καὶ τύμβοις ἱεροῖς εἰς ἓν ἀγειρομένους.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 192.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di arch. crist.*, 1863, p. 1 *et seqq.*

[4] MOMMSEN, *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani*, 6736.

Rome, but belonging originally to one of the catacombs, runs as follows:

> Sancti Petre, Marcelline, suscipite vestrum alumnum.[1]

We find similar inscriptions in different parts of the Roman Empire. The following Christian tombstone was discovered at Die in France:

> Hic Dalmata Cristi morte redemtus quiiscit (*sic*) in pace et diem futuri judicii intercedentebus (*sic*) sanctis letus spectit.[2]

In an inscription from Syria, St. George is invoked in the following words to grant rest to the souls of Scholasticius and his brother Comes:

> Ἅγιε Γεώργιε, προσδέξαι καὶ Σχολαστίκιον τὸν προσενέγκοντα εὐχαίς σου διατήρησον καὶ Κώμητι ἀδελφῷ ἀνάπαυσον αἴτησον.[3]

The burial places of the martyrs and the basilicas erected by their graves give the clearest proof of this desire of the faithful to rest after death as close as possible to the venerated tomb. In every vacant spot we find graves. Very often the decorations of the sepulchral chambers are destroyed in order to make way for fresh graves near the martyr's tomb. We can scarcely doubt that the uneducated superstitiously expected to obtain help and protection for the departed souls by the mere material proximity of their grave to the remains of a martyr.

[1] De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1875, p. 30.

[2] Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, II. p. 198, No. 478.

[3] Le Bas, *Voyage*. Inscriptions III. partie I. p. 480, No. 1981.

It is well known how St. Augustine had occasion to express his opinions on this point in reply to an enquiry of St. Paulinus of Nola. A Christian widow, Flora, had requested the bishop of Nola to allow her son, Cynegius, to be buried in the basilica of St. Felix. This moved Paulinus to ask St. Augustine what benefit he thought could come to the departed through being buried close to a martyr's grave. At the same time he placed before him another difficulty concerning prayers for the dead in general.[1] With regard to the first question, it is plain from St. Paulinus' letter, to which Augustine refers, that the former regarded the mere fact of seeking a grave near a martyr's tomb as expressing the survivor's confidence in the martyr's intercession, which confidence, he considered, might obtain the martyr's special protection for the deceased in the world to come.[2] This

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, I. (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 592 *et seq.*): Nam dicis videri non esse inanes motus animorum religiosorum atque fidelium pro suis ista curantium. Adjungis etiam vacare non posse, quod universa pro defunctis Ecclesia supplicare consuevit: ut huic et illud conjici possit, homini prodesse post mortem, si fide suorum humando ejus corpori talis provideatur locus, in quo appareat opitulatio etiam isto modo quæsita sanctorum. Sed cum hæc ita sint, quomodo huic opinioni contrarium non sit, quod dicit apostolus: "Omnes enim astabimus ante tribunal Christi, ut ferat unusquisque secundum ea quæ per corpus gessit, sive bonum, sive malum" (2 Cor. v. 10), non te satis videre significas.

[2] *Cf.* PAULINUS NOT., *Poema* XXXV. *de obitu Celsi pueri*, 603-610 (MIGNE, P. L. LXI. 689).

Credimus æternis illum tibi; Celse, viretis
Lætitiæ et vitæ ludere participem,
Quem Complutensi mandavimus urbe, propinquis
Conjunctum tumuli fœdere martyribus;

view was certainly common among Christians. St. Augustine gives his opinion on the question as follows: by the proximity of the martyr's tomb, the survivors will be reminded to invoke the holy martyrs in their prayers on behalf of the departed souls.[1] This is the only benefit to be gained for the departed from the martyr's tomb, the material proximity by itself avails nothing apart from the intercessions.[2] He then emphasizes the truth that the departed must have lived so as to be capable to deriving benefit after death from the intercessions of others. In another connection Eusebius had already expressed the same opinion. In his description of the funeral of Constantine the Great, after speaking of the prayers of

> Ut de vicino sanctorum sanguine ducat,
> Quo nostras illo purget in igne animas.
> Forte etenim nobis quoque peccatoribus olim
> Sanguinis hæc nostri guttula lumen erit.

[1] AUG., *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 596): Sed cum talia vivorum solatia requiruntur, quibus eorum pius in suos animus appareat, non video quæ sunt adjumenta mortuorum, nisi ad hoc ut dum recolunt ubi sint posita eorum quos diligunt corpora, eisdem sanctis illos tanquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adjuvandos orando commendent. Quod quidem facere possent, etiamsi talibus locis eos humare non possent. . . . Cum itaque recolit animus ubi sepultum sit carissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris venerabilis, eisdem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et peccantis affectus. Qui cum defunctis a fidelibus carissimis exhibetur, eum prodesse non dubium est iis, qui cum in corpore viverent, talia sibi post hanc vitam prodesse meruerunt. *Cf.* 5 (*ibid.* 597).

[2] *Ibid.* Si autem deessent istæ supplicationes, quæ fiunt recta fide ac pietate pro mortuis, puto quod nihil prodesset spiritibus eorum quamlibet in locis sanctis exanima corpora ponerentur.

clergy and people for his soul, he dwells upon the fact that the emperor's body was buried near the tomb of the apostles in the apostles' church in accordance with his own wish: "The tabernacle of his most blessed soul enjoyed companionship with the name and honour of the apostles, and was associated with the people of God in the church, participating in the holy service and mystic sacrifice, and sharing in the holy prayers."[1] The emperor's biographer evidently means that the eucharistic sacrifice, and the prayers offered in the apostles' church, will benefit Constantine's soul, and that the position of the grave in so holy a spot is instrumental in obtaining all the more prayers for him. An epitaph from the earliest basilica of St. Lawrence in Agro Verano agrees with St. Augustine's statements. It says of a departed Quiriace: "Cuique pro vitæ suæ testimonium (*sic*) sancti martyres apud Deum et Christum erunt advocati."[2]

The poem on the grave of the archdeacon Sabinus, brought to light in the same basilica, proclaims with St. Augustine the need of commending oneself to the saints by piety of life. "To be buried near a martyr's tomb," says Sabinus, "avails nought but rather oppresses."[3] Which means that by comparison with

[1] EUSEBIUS, *de vita Constantini*, IV. 71 (ed. Heinichen, II., 189 *et seq.*).

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino*, 1864, p. 34 *et seq.*

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino*, 1864, p. 33. The four lines in question run as follows: —

> Nil juvat, immo gravat tumulis hærere piorum,
> Sanctorum meritis optima vita prope est.
> Corpore non opus est, anima tendamus ad illos,
> Quæ bene salva potest corporis esse salus.

the martyr near whom the departed rests, the latter will appear all the more unworthy. Still the power of the martyr's intercessions is so little questioned that Sabinus, according to De Rossi's restoration, invokes St. Lawrence in the last lines of the inscription to obtain for his soul its reception among the angelic choirs.

And so we see how the close union of the faithful with one another manifested itself in the universal conviction that the souls of the saints in the next world are able to assist their fellow-citizens in the kingdom of God by their intercessions. The correlative of prayers for the repose of departed souls is to ask the intercessions of the departed for the living. We have already found evidence for this practice of the Christian people in the epitaphs of the third century. The custom gradually led to other eminent members of the Church besides apostles and martyrs being honoured as saints in the strict sense of the word. The faithful implored the intercession of those departed ones who had been more closely related to them in life, and who had also merited God's favour by their holy conversation, being sure their mediation would obtain a more ready hearing before God. It was this last consideration which had most weight, and led those of the faithful who had had no special relationship to the departed in life to invoke their assistance as friends of God. People were sure they had often received special help from God through the intercession of these saints in the same way as they did through the intercessions of the martyrs. This increased their confidence and encouraged them to implore their intercession all the

more. In this way the invocation of the dead, as distinct from the martyrs, gradually led to other holy personages being especially honoured as saints along with them (see next chapter).

In this period we find evidence for this practice not only among the Christian people, but also in the writings of the greatest teachers of the Church. St. Gregory Nazianzus has no doubt that his father can be of more use to his flock after death by his prayers than he was during life by his teaching and exhortation, because he is now nearer God.[1] St. Gregory on his mother's epitaph invokes her as well as his father to save him by her prayers, for she has already often helped him by appeasing God by her intercessions.[2] St. Ambrose in speaking of how his brother Satyrus will commend him to God, uses the same expressions as were formerly used in reference to the martyrs.[3] St. Jerome, when consoling Paula for the death of her

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XVIII., *funebris in patrem*, 4 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 989).

[2] GREGOR. NAZ., *Epitaphia. In matrem ex altari assumptam* LXXXI. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVIII. 53):

> Πολλάκις ἐκ μὲ νόσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων ὀρυμαγδῶν
> Εεισμῶν τε κρυερῶν, καὶ ἄγρια κυμαίνοντος
> Οἴδματος ἐξεσάωσας, ἐπεὶ θεὸν ἵλαον εἶχες.
> Ἀλλὰ σάω καὶ νῦν με, πάτερ, μεγάλῃσι λιτῇσι,
> Καὶ σὺ, τεκοῦσα μάκαιρα, ἐν εὐχωλῇσι θανοῦσα.

Cf. also LXXVIII. (*ibid.* 52).

[3] AMBROSIUS, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I. 18 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1352): Habeo plane pignus meum, quod nulla mihi peregrinatio jam possit avellere; habeo quas complectar reliquias, habeo tumulum, quem corpore tegam, habeo sepulcrum super quod jaceam; et commendabiliorem Deo futurum esse me credam, quod supra sancti corporis ossa requiescam.

daughter Blæsilla, assures her that the departed prays for her, and even obtains for him the pardon of his sins.[1] St. Damasus, alluding to the virginity of his sister Irene, prays in her epitaph that she will be mindful of him at the coming of the Lord, and that her torch will give him light through the Lord.[2] These examples show how this practice, founded on the belief that the departed saints remained in intimate communion with the surviving fellow-citizens of God's Kingdom, was diffused through all parts of the Church.

[1] HIERON., *epist.* xxxix. *ad Paulam super obitu Blæsillæ filiæ*, 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 472): Loquitur illa et alia multa, quæ taceo, et pro te Dominum rogat, mihique ut de ejus mente securus sum, veniam impetrat peccatorum, quod monui, quod hortatus sum, quod invidiam propinquorum ut salva esset excepi.

[2] DAMASUS, *Epigramma in hon. sororis* (ed. Ihm, p. 15, No. 10):

> Nunc veniente Deo nostri reminiscere, virgo,
> Ut tua per Dominum præstet mihi facula lumen.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORSHIP AND INVOCATION OF THE SAINTS.

THE theological position concerning the saints of the Church, *i.e.*, both the righteous of the old covenant and the martyrs (including the apostles), remained essentially the same as in the preceding periods. Three things in particular helped to establish the particular position of the saints in the Church and the consequent relation of the faithful to them. First, they were perfectly holy followers of Christ, who during their life-time had fulfilled in the most perfect manner all that God requires from the members of his kingdom. Secondly, they had, as a consequence of this, a special place in the heavenly city, they were Christ's friends in a higher sense than the rest of the elect, and enjoyed greater glory and blessedness in heaven. Thirdly, it followed from this that they were patrons and mediators before God and Christ on behalf of the other members of the mystical body of the Church, and could obtain grace and help by their intercession for the faithful both living and dead. From this position of the saints, it followed that both the Church in her official liturgical celebrations, and individual believers in their private religious practices, manifested a special respect and veneration towards them; they esteemed them as perfectly holy, and thanked God for the grace and glory He had bestowed upon them;

the intercession of the saints was also invoked to procure spiritual aids and graces, and at the same time to obtain protection and deliverance in temporal necessities. Lastly, they were held up as examples to the faithful by the teachers of the Church and were regarded by the people as such: the imitation of the virtues they had displayed in their life and glorious death was an incentive to a perfect Christian life. And so the veneration of the saints is the perfect example of the "Communio Sanctorum," *i.e.*, of the pulsation of the spiritual life circulating in all members of the Church and binding them into one.[1]

Bishops and doctors of the Church on all occasions, and especially in the numerous sermons which have come down to us preached on the commemorations of the martyrs' deaths, extolled the heroic martyrs in the highest terms as perfect servants of Christ and the glory of the Church. Their praises reveal the extent of the veneration enjoyed by the martyrs throughout the whole Church. A few of the most important passages will be sufficient to give us an idea of how glorious and venerable the martyrs were in the conception of the teachers of that time. St. Gregory Nazianzus counts all of small importance compared with the martyrs' warfare; and although Christians have much to urge them to a better life, yet none the less they require the martyrs to direct them to live aright. He calls them "sacrifices endowed with

[1] We can naturally merely touch upon this side of the worship of the saints: the numerous questions, liturgical and historical, bearing more or less directly on our subject cannot be dealt with here.

reason, perfect sacrifices, oblations well pleasing and agreeable to God, heralds of truth, vanquishers of lies, fulfillers of the law which is spiritually to be understood, overthrowers of error, persecutors of evil, deluge in which sin is destroyed, purification of the world."[1] St. John Chrysostom no less enthusiastically extols the death of the martyrs as "the exhortation of the faithful, the confidence of the church, protection of christendom, destruction of death, proof of the resurrection, disgrace of devils, denunciation of Satan, doctrine of wisdom, summons to despise worldly things, way towards longing after heavenly things, consolation for the ills which surround us, incitement to patience, opportunity for renunciation, the spring, root, and origin of all benefits."[2] St. Hilary sees the triumphant joy of the martyrs in the hills spoken of along with the fields in Ps. lxiv. 12-14, because the hills are higher than the level fields.[3] Christ's martyr is the Church's treasure, writes St. Ambrose,[4] and St. Augustine beholds in the martyrs the true princes of the churches, who receive the chief seats and sur-

[1] GREGOR, NAZ., *Oratio* XXIV. *in laudem Cypriani martyris*, 4 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 1173): . . . τοσούτων ὄντων ἡμῖν καὶ τοιούτων, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἡμῖν εἰς παιδαγωγίαν οἱ μάρτυρες ὁλοκαυτώματα λογικὰ, θύματα τέλεια, προσφοραὶ δεκτὰι, τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματα, τοῦ ψεύδους στηλιτεύματα, νόσμου συμπλήρωσις. τοῦ γε πνευματικῶς νοουμένου πλάνης κατάλυσις κακίας διωγμὸς, ἁμαρτίας κατακλυσμὸς, κόσμου καθάρσιον.

[2] JOANNES. CHRYS., *de s. Droside mart.* 2 (MIGNE, P. G. L. 685).

[3] HILARIUS, *Tract. in Ps.* LXIV. 17 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 422).

[4] AMBROSIUS, *de virginitate*, XVIII. 119 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI 311).

pass all others in holy dignity.[1] The whole church participates in their honour; "they fight, and the faithful rejoice over it; they have gained the crown and the common glory, or rather the glory of the whole Church," says St. Chrysostom. "And how does this come to pass? Because the martyrs are parts and members of ourselves." He gives an interpretation of St. Paul's metaphor (1 Cor. xii. 20 *et seqq.*) pointing out that the martyrs are the head, and the faithful of his own time the feet. Still this distinction does not sever them from the rest of the faithful; "Since the Lord Himself was not ashamed to be our head, they are still less ashamed to be our members, because they are rooted in love, and love unites what is severed and takes very little care for honour."[2] And so the vital union which continues to bind together the martyrs and the other believers causes their honour to extend as it were to the whole Church and the members thereof. We find the same thought in St. Augustine, who counts it no small honour for Christians that they are members of the same body as the martyrs, although they may not be their equals.[3]

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Enarratio in Ps.* LXVII. 36 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVI. 835): . . . Quæ omnia (V. 28) verissimos nobis insinuant principes ecclesiarum, dignos ducatu, dignos imitatione, dignos honoribus. Martyres namque in ecclesiis locum summum tenent atque apice sanctæ dignitatis excellunt. *Cf. Enarr. in Ps.* CXVIII. *sermo* ix. 2 (*ibid.* XXXVII. 1523).

[2] JOAN. CHRYS., *in s. Romanum mart.* I 1. (MIGNE, P. G L. 606.

[3] AUG., *Serm.* cclxxx. *in natali ss. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis* I. 6 (MIGNE, P L. XXXVIII. 1283): Non parva pars imitationis est, meliorum congaudere virtutibus. Illi magni, nos parvi; sed benedixit Dominus pusillos cum magnis (Ps. CXIII.

At the same time the teachers of the Church did not fail to ascribe the honour paid to the martyrs, and the veneration with which they were surrounded, to God and Christ, for all the strength manifested by the martyrs is referred back to God. In his sermon on St. Cyprian, St. Augustine says: "Quid enim nisi Dei sunt laudes tanti martyris laudes? . . . . Non ergo recedimus a laudibus Dei quando laudamus opera Dei et prælia Dei in milite Dei,"[1] and the same idea is repeatedly presented to the Christian people in numerous passages of the writings of himself and other teachers of that time.[2]

The worship rendered by the Church to the martyrs and other saints was closely bound up with the eucharistic sacrifice, the solemn expression of the Church's unity. Accordingly the Church commemorated at it those of her members who had already passed into the future life, "first the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God would at their prayers and intercessions receive our supplication."[3] St. John Chrysostom regards it as a signal distinction for the martyrs, even though they are martyrs, that

13) Præcesserunt, præeminuerunt. Si eos sequi non valemus actu, sequamur affectu; si non gloria, certe lætitia; si non meritis, votis; si non passione, compassione; si non excellentia, connexione Non nobis parum videatur quod ejus corporis membra sumus, cujus et illi, quibus æquiparari non possumus.

[1] AUG., *Sermo* cccxiii. *in nat. Cypriani mart.* 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 1423).

[2] *Cf.* for example, BASILIUS M., *hom. in XL. martyres*, I. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 508). GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XI. *ad Gregor. Nyss.*, 4 (*ibid.* XXXV. 836).

[3] CYRILLUS HIEROS., *Catech. myst.* V. 9 (ed. Rupp, II. 386).

they should be named in the Lord's presence, while His death, the tremendous sacrifice, the unspeakable mysteries are being celebrated.[1] This manner of honouring the martyrs found its chief manifestation in the use of the martyr's tomb as an altar upon which the eucharistic sacrifice was offered. In the fuller development of the beliefs and practices which were already in existence in the period before Constantine, the martyr's grave became the chief object round which his worship centred.[2] Nothing could call forth in so lively manner the memory of him and his glorious death as the spot where lay the body which had suffered torments and death. Eusebius mentions frequent visits to the martyrs' graves, and prayers being offered there and the veneration of the holy souls, as a practice already universal.[2] From the time of Constantine the Great churches were built over the martyrs' graves, care being taken so to place the church that the altar in the apse was brought into as close connection with the grave as was possible.[3] On the one hand, this was a proof of the veneration already paid to the tomb, while, on the other, it tended to increase it, since now the magnificence of the build-

[1] JOAN. CHRYS., *in Act. apost.* hom. XXI. 4 (MIGNE, P. G. LX. 171).

[2] EUSEBIUS, *Præpar. Evang.* XIII. 11 (MIGNE, P. G. XXI. 1096) : Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις εἰπὼν παραλαμβάνεσθαι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παριέναι, καὶ τάς εὐχὰς παρὰ τούταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾷν τε τὰς μακαρίας ἀυτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς εὐλόγως καὶ τούτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένων.

[3] *Cf.* KIRSCH, *Die christlichen Cultusgebäude im Alterthum*, Cologne, 1893, pp. 45 *et segq.* : *Die Grab-und Reliquienkirchen vom* IV. *bis zum* VII. *Jahrh.*

ing and the decoration of the altar made a deep impression on the people, and the divine service in the churches was celebrated on the feasts of the martyrs with greater solemnity and with the assistance of a larger number of worshippers. In this way the altar tomb became the principal object round which the worship of the martyrs centred. The martyrs, as it were, from their graves summoned the faithful to their assemblies and to the eucharistic feast.[1] Preachers refer to the great crowds of the faithful who hasten to the churches of the martyrs there to pray and assist at the festal celebration.[2] St. John Chrysostom points to the graves of the martyrs as being also a means for stirring up the souls of Christian people to imitate the virtues of the saint who rests therein. Everyone who stands by the grave will feel its influence ; the very sight of the sarcophagus moves the soul and urges it on to good deeds.[3] The great preacher then proceeds to exhort the faithful to visit the holy tomb, not merely on the day of the feast but on other days as well, in order to experience for themselves the power of the martyr's body which rests therein.[4] The annual feasts in commemoration of celebrated martyrs, held in the churches over their graves, were the occasion of great festivities in which the bishops of neighbouring cities took part ; they were an opportunity of giving practical

[1] BASILIUS, *Hom. in Barlaam martyrem*, 1-2 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 484) ; *cf. hom. in Gordium mart.* 1 (*ibid.* 489).

[2] JOAN. CHRYS., *Expos. in Ps.* CXV. 5 (MIGNE, P. G. LV. 326) ; in Ps. XLVIII. 8 (*ibid.* 512).

[3] JOAN. CHRYS., *de s. Babyla*, 11 (MIGNE, P. G. L. 551) ; *de s. Droside mart.* 2 (*ibid.* 685).

[4] *Ibid. de ss. Bernice et Prosdoce*, 7 (*ibid.* 640).

expression to the communion existing between all members of the Church.[1]

Although the eucharistic celebration served in this way to give expression to the veneration felt towards the martyrs, since their names were mentioned at it and their tombs were more and more associated with the altar, still the sacrifice itself was not in any way offered up to the martyrs, but to God alone. The teachers of the Church endeavoured to prevent the growth of all false views of this kind among their people. St. Augustine in particular states in many passages of his writings that temples were built and sacrifices offered not to the martyrs but only to God, to whom alone appertains the adoration of which these things are the outward expression. The martyrs are honoured in this way, their tombs are treated with respect, as belonging to saints who have fought for the truth unto death. The Manicheans, who had already uttered the reproach brought against the Church recently of making divinities and heroes of the martyrs in the heathen sense of the words, were answered by St. Augustine.[2] The

[1] *Cf.* BASILIUS M., *epist.* XCV. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 489): *epist.* CLXXVI. (*ibid.* 653); *epist.* CCLII. (*ibid.* 940); *epist.* CCLXXXII. (*ibid.* 1017).

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *Contra Faustum manichæum*, XX. 21 (MIGNE, P. L. XLII. 384 *et seq.*), where amongst other things he says: Populus autem christianus memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur atque orationibus adjuvetur; ita tamen ut nulli martyrum sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quam vis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria. *Cf. De civitate Dei*, VIII. 27 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 255 *et seq.*); XXII. 10 (*ibid.* 772); *Sermo* CCCX. *in natali Cypriani mart.* II. 2 (P. L. XXXVIII.

resemblance of the cultus of the saints to the heathen worship of the heroes is purely external and accidental; the infiltration of heathendom into the Church still remains to be proved. The leaders of the Church were as energetic in suppressing abuses connected with the feasts of the martyrs as they were in maintaining their due celebration. In particular, they attacked the excesses attending the common meal which formed part of these celebrations—a development of the funeral agapé.[1]

With the veneration of the martyrs' tombs is connected the veneration of their relics, which, when properly understood and practised, was also a valuable means of keeping alive the memory of the holy martyrs, and of inspiring people with the desire to invoke them. The teachers of the Church sanctioned and promoted the veneration of relics,[2] and this in turn aided in spreading the cultus of the martyrs,

1413); *Sermo cclxxiii. in nat. Fructuosi ep.* (&c.) 7 (*ibid.* 1251).

[1] *Vid. ante*, p. 202 *et seq.* *Cf.* AMBROSIUS, *Liber de Elia et jejunio*, XVII. 62 (MIGNE, P. L. XIV. 754); GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* XI. *ad Gregor. Nyss.* 5 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 837); *Carmina* II. sect. II., *Epigrammata*, 26-29 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVIII. 97-98).

[2] *Cf.* HILARIUS, *Contra Constantium*, 8 (MIGNE, P. L. X. 584 *et seq.*). JOANNES. CHRYS., *de s. Droside mart.* 2 (MIGNE, P. G. L. 686); *de ss. Bernice et Prosdoce*, 7 (*ibid.* 640); *in Maccabæos*, I. 1 (*ibid.* 617, 618). GREGOR. NAZ., *Contra Julianum. or.* I. 69 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 589); *or.* II. 29 *ibid.* 700 *et seq.*); *or.* XXIV. *in laudem Cypriani mart.* 18 (*ibid.* 1192). BASILIUS, *Hom. in XL. martyres*, 8 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 521); *epist.* xlix. (*ibid.* XXXII. 385); *epist.* clv. (*ibid.* 613); *epist.* clxiv. 1 (*ibid.* 633-636). GREGOR. NYSS., *de s. Theodore mart.* (MIGNE, P. G. XLVI. 740). *Epist. Paulæ*

since it was necessary to obtain relics to place in the altar in churches where there was no tomb of a martyr. By this means the feasts of celebrated martyrs, which originally had been of local observance, spread to other localities where some relic of the martyr was preserved in the church.[1]

When the memory of the martyrs was celebrated at the eucharist, this, in the mind of the Church, did not mean that prayers were offered to God for the martyrs, but rather that their intercessions were invoked in order through them to obtain a speedier answer to prayers offered up to God.[2] The

et Eustochii ad Marcellam, inter ep. HIERON., XLVI. 8 (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 488). HIERONYMUS, *Comm. in Isaiam*, XVIII. in cap. 65, 4-5 (*ibid.* XXIV. 657). AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo cccxvii. de. s. Stephano mart.* IV. 1 (P. L. XXXVIII. 1435); *Sermo cccxviii. de eodem*, V. 1 (*ibid.* 1437); *Sermo cclxxvii.* 1 (*ibid.* 1258), where amongst other things we find the following: Præstitit ergo sanctorum corpora ecclesiis suis ad memorias orationum, non ad glorias martyrum.

[1] *Cf.* the author's pamphlet: *Die Cultusgebäude im christlichen Alterthum*, pp. 60 *et seqq.* This question, comprising also the discussion of the finding and translation of the martyrs' remains, lies beyond the scope of the present work.

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* clix. 1 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 868): In patria vero nullus orandi locus erit, sed tantum laudandi. Quare orandi locus nullus erit? Quia nihil deest. Quod hic creditur, ibi videtur; quod hic speratur, ibi tenetur; quod hic petitur, ibi accipitur. Perfectio tamen in hac vita nonnulla est, ad quam sancti martyres pervenerunt. Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur; pro ceteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria est enim, pro martyres orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari. Certavit enim contra peccatum usque ad sanguinem. Quibusdam vero adhuc imperfectis et tamen ex parte justificatis, ad

relation of the faithful to the martyrs appears from the manner in which the latter were regarded as the patrons of the members of the Church on earth, being invoked in order to obtain the benefit of their protection and intercession with God. The saints desire that the faithful show them reverence, not that they themselves derive any benefit from it, but that by this fellowship with them they may bestow benefits on us.[1] As Christ Himself intercedes for us with the Father (Rom. viii. 34), so the martyrs who are with Him do the same. This intercession, indeed, will not cease until our sighs cease, *i.e.*, until the end of the world, when all the elect will be gathered together with the angels into one people in the heavenly city.[2] In this way, St. Augustine bases the

Hebræos dicit apostolus : "Nondum enim usque ad sanguinem pugnastis, adversus peccatum certantes" (Hebr. XII. 4). Si ergo illi nondum usque ad sanguinem, procul dubio aliqui usque ad sanguinem. Qui usque ad sanguinem? Utique sancti martyres, de quibus lectio sancti Apostoli Jacobi modo audita est (Jac. I. 2-4). *Cf.* AUG., *in evang. Joann.*, tract. LXXXIV. 1 (*ibid.* XXXV. 1847); SERMO *cclxxxiv. in nat. ss. Mariani et Jacobi*, 5 (P. L. XXXVIII. 1291); *Sermo cclxxxv. in nat. ss. Casti et Æmili*, 5 (*ibid.* 1295); *Sermo ccxcvii. in nat. apost. Petri et Pauli III.* 2 (*ibid.* 1360).

[1] GREGOR. NYSS., *Laudatio s. Stephani* II. (MIGNE, P. G. XLVI. 732).

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *Enarr. in Ps.* LXXXV. 24 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVII. 1099): Contristatus est beatus Cyprianus in passione; modo consolatus est in corona. Modo et consolatus adhuc tristis est. Dominus enim noster Jesus Christus adhuc interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII. 34): omnes martyres qui cum illo sunt, interpellant pro nobis. Non transeunt interpellationes ipsorum, nisi cum transierit gemitus noster; cum autem transierit gemitus noster, omnes in una voce, in uno populo, in

intercession of the saints on the special relation in which they stand on the one hand to Christ, and on the other to the members of the Church, in whose spiritual well-being they take unfailing interest, even when not specially invoked.[1] The intercessions of the martyrs refer to the whole religious life of the faithful. In the eyes of God their prayers atone for the sins of Christians.[2] They are the mediators who

una patria consolabimur, millia millium conjuncta psallentibus angelis, choris cœlestium potestatum in una civitate viventium. *Cf.* AUG., *Sermo cccii. in hon. s. Laurentii*, I. 1 (P. L. XXXVIII. 1385).

[1] AUG., *Sermo* cclxxx. *in nat. mart. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, I. 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 1283): Gloria capiti, unde consulitur et superioribus manibus, et infimis pedibus. Sicut ille unus animam suam pro nobis posuit, ita et imitati sunt martyres, et animas suas pro fratribus posuerunt atque ut ista populorum tanquam germinum copiosissima fertilitas surgeret, terram suo sanguine irrigaverunt. Fructus laboris ergo illorum etiam nos sumus. Miramur eos, miserantur nos. Gratulamur eis, precantur pro nobis. Illi corpora sua tanquam vestimenta straverunt cum pullus Dominum portans in Jerusalem duceretur; nos saltem velut ramos de arboribus cædentes, de Scripturis sanctis hymnos laudesque decerpimus, quas in commune gaudium proferamus (Matth. XXI. 7-9). Omnes tamen eidem Domino paremus, eundem magistrum sequimur, eundem principem comitamur, eidem capiti subjungimur, ut ad eamdem Jerusalem tendimus, eamdem sectamur charitatem, eamdemque amplectimur unitatem.

[2] AUG., *Quæst. in Heptateuchum*, II. 108 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIV. 635): Deinde jubet ea vela cooperiri pellibus arietinis rubicatis (Exod. XXV. 5). Aries antem rubricatus, cui non occurrat Christus passione cruentatus? Significantur his etiam martyres sancti, quorum orationibus propitiatur Deus peccatis populi sui. Ipsis denique superjaciuntur pelles hyacinthinæ, ut significetur vita æterna viriditate tanquam vigore perpetuo. *Cf.* AMBROSIUS, *de viduis*, 9 (MIGNE, P. L.

obtain for us a share in the Godhead, according to St. Gregory of Nazianzum—if he may venture to say so.[1] The same saint ascribes the revival of the catholic faith in Constantinople to the martyrs' prayers.[2] In the prayer with which his oration on the martyr Cyprian concludes, he calls upon the saint to look graciously down upon the assembled congregation, to guide them in word and deed, to shepherd the flock, and to guard the pastors, by directing them to all good, by driving away the wolf that seeks to seize them by syllables and words, and by bestowing a full and clear vision of the Holy Trinity, such as the martyrs already enjoy. In other words, may the saints aid the catholic congregation in its struggle with Arianism.[3] In bodily necessities, again, the holy martyrs are no less able to obtain help from God for the faithful through their intercessions. In panegyrics on the martyrs,

XVI. 264): Martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quodam corporis pignore patrocinium vindicare. Possunt pro peccatis rogare nostris, qui proprio sanguine etiam si qua habuerunt peccata laverunt; isti enim sunt Dei martyres nostri præsules, speculatores vitæ actorumque nostrorum.

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XI. *ad Gregor. Nyssen.*, 5 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 837): *Εἰ οὕτως συνεληλύθαμεν ἡ συντρέχομεν, ὄντως κατὰ Χριστὸν ἡ πανήγυρις, ὄντως τοὺς μάρτυρας τετιμήκαμεν ἢ τιμήσομεν, ὄντως χορεύομεν ἐπινίκια. Εἰ δὲ γαστρὸς ἡδοναῖς χαριούμενοι . . . καὶ παραγματειῶν καιροὺς καὶ παραγμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναβάσεως ἢ θεώσεως, ἵν' οὕτως εἰπεῖν τολμήσω, ἧς οἱ μάρτυρες μεσιτεύουσι, πρῶτον μὲν ὑυδὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιγινώσκω.*

[2] GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XXXV. *de martyribus et adv. Arianos*, 1 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVI. 257).

[3] GREGOR. NAZ., *Oratio* XXIV. *in s. Cyprianum*, 19 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 1193).

both spiritual and corporal blessings are frequently mentioned in speaking of the benefits which the intercession of the martyrs can obtain for the faithful. St. Gregory of Nyssa says of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste that they are powerful patrons of the faithful against their enemies, and faithful intercessors with their common Lord; under the protection of their merits, the Christian may have confidence, although the devil casts his toils around him, and evil men rise up against him, and tyrants rage against him, and the sea roars and the earth does not bring forth her fruits, and the heavens seem for ever shut up.[1] St. Basil tells us how pious women pray for their children in the church of the Forty Martyrs, for their husbands when travelling on a far journey that they may have a happy return, and for their sick husbands that they may recover.[2] In his oration on St. Mamas, St. Basil exhorts all the faithful who have in any way experienced the protection and help of the saint to have him now especially in honour.[3]

[1] GREGOR. NYSS., *Oratio in XL. martyres* (MIGNE, P. G. XLVI. 788).

[2] BASILIUS, *Hom. in XL. martyres*, 8 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 521-24). *Cf.* GREGOR. NYSS., *Oratio de s. Theodoro martyre*, conclusion (MIGNE, P. G. XLVI. 745-748), where he invokes the saints to come to the protection of the country against the Scythians. JOAN. CHRYS. *Hom. in ascensione Domini*, 1 (P. G., L. 443).

[3] BASILIUS M. *hom. in Mamantem martyrem*, 1 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXI. 589): Μνήσθητέ μοι τοῦ μάρτυρος, ὅσοι δι' ὀνείρων αὐτοῦ ἀπηλαύσατε, ὅσοι περιτυχόντες τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐσχήκεσαν αὐτὸν συνεργὸν εἰς προσευχὴν ὅσοις, ὀνόματι κληθεὶς, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργῳ παρέστη, ὅσους ὁδοιπόρους ἐπανήγαγεν, ὅσους ἐξ ἀῤῥωστίας ἀνέστησεν, ὅσοις πάιδας ἀπέδωκεν ἤδη τετελευτηκότως, οσοις προδεσμίας βίου μακροτέρας ἐποίησεν.

The confidence of the faithful in the help of the martyrs was strengthened by the numerous accounts of miracles wrought at their sepulchres or through the veneration of their relics, such as the casting out of devils, recovery from sickness, escapes from great dangers, and even raising of the dead.[1] Owing to this confidence in the power of the martyrs' intercession, their cultus made continual advance all through the course of the fourth century, and the faithful had recourse to their intercessions and commended themselves to their protection in all their necessities, whether corporal or spiritual, as part of their customary devotions. The doctors of the Church in their sermons encouraged their hearers to place their confidence in the martyrs in all their afflictions.[2]

[1] It will be sufficient to give a few examples from the writings of the chief theologians of the time: HILARIUS, *contra Constantium*, 8 (MIGNE, P. L. X. 584 *et seq.*). BASILIUS, *Hom. in mart. Julittam*, 2 (P. G. XXXI. 241). GREGOR. NAZ., *contra Julianum*, I. 69 (P. G. XXXV. 589); *or.* XXIV. *in s. Cyprianum mart.* 18 (P. G. XXXV. 1192); JOAN. CHRYS. *in Julianum mart.* (P. G. L. 669); *in Barlaam mart.* (P. G. L. 681); *in Drosidem mart.* (P. G. L. 686); *de s. Babyla Contra Julianum*, 11 (P. G. L. 551); AMBROSIUS, *Ep. ad Marcellinam*, 16 *et seqq.* (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1067 *et seqq.*). HIERONYMUS, *Comm. in Isaiam*, XVIII. in cap. LXV. 4-5 (P. L. XXIV. 657) AUGUSTINUS, *de civitate Dei*, XXII. 8 (P. L. XLI. 760 *et seqq.*); *Sermo* cclxxv. 3 (P. L. XXXVIII. 1255); *Sermo* cclxxxvi. 5, 6, 8 (*ibid.* 1299, 1300); *Sermo* cccxx. (*ibid.* 1442); *Sermo* cccxxii. (*ibid.* 1443); *Sermo* cccxxiii. (*ibid.* 1445); *Sermo* cccxxiv. (*ibid.* 1446).

[2] *Cf.* for example JOANNES CHRYS., *Adversus Judæos or.* VIII. 6 (MIGNE, P. G. XLVIII. 937): Καὶ οὐ τοίνυν, ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν θέον σε κολάζοντα, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ καταφύγῃς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν παροξύνῃς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μάρτυρας,

The greater the confidence in the martyrs' protection and the more frequently they were invoked, so much the more vivid became the idea of the intercommunion between the faithful and those whom they regarded as the foremost and highest of the elect. Some fathers raised the question how the saints know the circumstances of the faithful on earth so as to be able to exert a practical effect upon them through their mediation with God. St. Gregory of Nazianzum gives it as his firm conviction that the souls of the saints can take a lively interest in our affairs.[1] St. Jerome replies to the reproach of Vigilantius that the martyrs cannot hear our invocations since they dwell in the under-world, by ascribing to the souls of the saints a sort of ubiquity or at least a capacity, such as the spirits and demons have, of transporting themselves with marvellous rapidity to various places.[2] St. Augustine proposes to himself two questions regarding the manner in which the martyrs can influence earthly things: How can the dead know what happens on earth? how can the martyrs help

τοὺς ἁγίους, καὶ εὐηρεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν παῤῥησίαν.

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *epist.* ccxxiii. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVII. 364 *et seq.*).

[2] HIERONYMUS, *contra Vigilantium*, 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXIII. 359): In Deo leges pones? In Apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodia, nec sint cum Dommo suo, de quibus scriptum est: Sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit? Si Agnus ubique, ergo et hi, qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et quum diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe et celeritate nimia ubique præsentes sint martyres post effusionem sanguinis sui arca operientur inclusi et inde exire non poterunt?

men living in the world? With regard to the first point, he teaches the dead indeed know nothing of what happens in the world while it is happening, but they can learn it afterwards either from other dead or from the angels.[1] By means of divine power, the martyrs are in a position to know what is done on earth, and so to exert an influence in earthly things.[2] With regard to the second question, St. Augustine confesses that he cannot answer it. That the martyrs help the faithful is certain, but how they do it—whether by their own immediate action, or by God granting the answer to the saints' prayers through the instrumentality of angels—is not explained by St. Augustine, because he shrank from giving a judgment on the question.[3] Be it observed, the whole question

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *de cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 15 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 605 *et seq.*).

[2] *Ibid.* 16 (ed. cit. 606 *et seq.*): Hinc et illa solvitur quæstio, quomodo martyres ipsis beneficiis quæ dantur orantibus indicant se interesse rebus humanis, si nesciunt mortui quid agant vivi . . . Non igitur ideo putandum est vivorum rebus quoslibet interesse posse defunctos, quoniam quibusdum sanandis vel adjuvandis martyres adsunt: sed ideo potius intelligendum est quod per divinam potentiam martyres vivorum rebus intersunt, quoniam defuncti per naturam propriam vivorum rebus interesse non possunt.

[3] *Ibid.* 16 (*ed. cit.* 607): Quanquam ista quæstio vires intelligentiæ meæ vincit, quemadmodum opitulentur martyres iis quos per eos certum est adjuvari; utrum ipsi per se ipsos adsint uno tempore tam diversis locis, et tanta inter se longinquitate discretis, sive ubi sunt eorum memoriæ, sive præter suas memorias ubicumque adesse sentiuntur: au ipsis in loco suis meritis congruo ab omni mortalium conversatione remotis, et tamen generaliter orantibus pro indigentiis supplicantum (sicut nos oramus pro mortuis, quibus utique non præsentamur,

relates to the manner in which the martyrs hear the prayers of the faithful on earth and can help those who invoke them, as to the fact that they actually do help them, St. Augustine has no doubt.

The only writer of any importance belonging to this period who opposed the worship and invocation of the martyrs was Vigilantius of Calagurræ (Cazères) in Aquitaine, at a later date ordained priest at Barcelona during a sojourn in Spain. As far as it is possible to judge from St. Jerome's reply, he attacked in his writings the veneration paid to the martyrs, to their tombs, and to their relics; he found fault with the vigils and liturgical celebrations in the churches erected over their graves; he denied the power of their intercessions, and refused to believe that they could have any interest at all in earthly affairs; he blamed, moreover, the custom of showing honour to the martyrs by burning candles and other lights at their tombs. Other views of his concerning celibacy and

nec ubi sint vel quid agant scimus), Deus omnipotens qui est ubique præsens nec concretus nobis, nec remotus a nobis, exaudiens martyrum preces, per angelica ministeria usque-quaque diffusa præbeat hominibus ista solatia, quibus in hujus vitæ miseria judicat esse præbenda; et suorum merita martyrum ubi vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, maximeque per eorum memorias, quoniam hoc novit expedire nobis ad ædificandum fidem Christi, pro cujus illi confessione sunt passi, mirabili atque ineffabili potestate ac bonitate commendet. Res hæc altior est quam ut a me possit attingi, et abstrusior quam a me valeat perscrutari: et ideo quid horum duorum sit an vero fortassis utrumque sit, ut aliquando ista fiant per ipsam præsentiam martyrum, aliquando per Angelos suscipientes personam martyrum, definire non audeo; mallem a scientibus ista perquirere.

the monastic life do not concern us here. St. Jerome, who had already made the acquaintance of Vigilantius in his monastery at Bethlehem, was informed of his proceedings by the two priests, Riparius and Desiderius, and defended the worship and invocation of the martyrs both in a letter to Riparius[1] and, later on, in a separate treatise.[2] His teaching as to the manner in which the souls of the saints are cognisant of earthly matters, is in complete accord with what we have found in the theologians, both eastern and western, of the period on the question, although he defends the peculiar ideas alluded to above. The agreement is remarkable, pointing to the conclusion that the doctrine of the Communion of Saints was based upon the uniform belief of the faithful, and had developed uniformly in different parts of the Church.

The thorough-going Arians appear also to have rejected the veneration of relics, or at least not to have practised it. St. Jerome, for instance, says in his treatise against Vigilantius (8), that he mocks at the relics of the martyrs and ridicules the Church of Christ in company with the Eunomius, the originator of this heresy; he is not afraid of such company, seeing that he prates against catholics just as Eunomius did against the Church. This agrees with what St. Gregory of Nazianzum says in his oration on the martyrs, that in Constantinople, where the Arians had

[1] HIERONYMUS, *ep.* cix. *ad Riparium* (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 906 *et seqq.*).

[2] HIERON., *contra Vigilantium* (MIGNE, P. L. XXIII. 353 *et seqq.*).

been in the ascendancy, the worship of the martyrs had long been neglected.[1]

Yet another bond between the faithful and the saints, especially the martyrs, was due to the fact that the saints were regarded as perfect disciples of Christ, who had perfectly discharged the duties of the Christian life in a manner pleasing to God. On this account the faithful considered them as models and examples for them to imitate in their own lives. Again and again, the doctors of the Church insist that the best and only true way of honouring the martyrs is to imitate their virtues, and so to become worthy of sharing in their heavenly reward. In sermons this thought was worked out in detail; the example of the martyrs and the duty of imitating them was constantly impressed upon all classes of Christians with respect to those several virtues which form the characteristics of the Christian life.[2] It is in this that the profound

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *or.* XXXV. *de martyribus et adv. Arianos*, 1 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVI. 257). The passage in HILARIUS, *Comm. in Matth.* XXVII. 5 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 1060) on the wise and foolish virgins: Quibus responderunt non posse se dare, quia non sit forte quod omnibus satis sit: alienis scilicet operibus ac meritis neminem adjuvandum, quia unicuique lampadi suac emere oleum sit necesse, as the context clearly shows, is not directed against the intercession of the saints. Hilary merely means that the entire lack of merit in one Christian cannot be supplied by others.

[2] For examples see: EUSEBIUS CÆSAR., *Præparatio evangelica*, VI. 6 (MIGNE, P. G. XXI. 429). ATHANASIUS, *epist. ad Dracontium*, 4 (P. G. XXV. 528). CYRILLUS HIEROS., *Catech.* XV. 17 (ed. Rupp. II. 177). HILARIUS, *Tract. in Ps. LXV.* (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 432 *et seqq.*). BASILIUS, *Hom. in Mamantem mart.* 2 (P. G. XXXI. 592); *hom. in XL. martyres*, 1 (*ibid.* 508); *hom. in Gordium mart.* I. 2 (*ibid.* 492 *et seq.*); *Moralia*, *Regula*,

moral value of the worship of the saints and of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints has its basis. It was not merely by visiting the churches of the martyrs and imploring their intercessions that what was most important for the Christian life could be obtained, but by works of mercy towards ones neighbours as well. By such works, not only the approval of God, but also the favour of the saints was to be gained.[1]

The worship of the saints in this period of the Church was chiefly directed to the martyrs, among whom were included the apostles. In the "Memento" at the celebration of the eucharist, the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament were named along with them as being on an equal footing with them.[2] None of these were prayed for, but they were appealed

XXVII. 1 (*ibid.* 745). GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* XI. *ad Gregor. Nyss.* 4 (P. G. XXXV. 836 *et seq.*); *or.* XXIV. *in s. Cyprianum mart.* 19 (*ibid.* 1192-93); *or.* XIX. *ad Julianum*, 5 (*ibid.* 1048-49). GREGOR. NYSS., *laudatio s. Stephani* II. (P. G. XLVI. 733 *et seq.*). JOANNES CHRYS., *sermo de ss. martyribus*, I. 2 (P. G. L. 647 *et seq.*); *in s. Julianum mart.* 4 (*ibid.* 672); *in s. Barlaam mart.* 4 (*ibid.* 681 *et seq.*). AMBROSIUS, *epist. ad Marcellinam* (P. L. XVI. 1064 *et seqq.*); *Exhortatio virginitatis*, 1 *et seqq.* (*ibid.* 351 *et seqq.*); *de virginibus*, II. 4 (*ibid.* 224 *et seq.*). AUGUSTINUS, *Enarr. in Ps.* LXIX. 4 (P. L. XXXVI. 869); *sermo* iv. 34 (P. L. XXXVIII. 52); *sermo* cclxxiii. 9 (*ibid.* 1252); *sermo* cccii. 10 (*ibid.* 1389); *sermo* cccvi. 11 (*ibid.* 1405).

[1] AMBROSIUS, *Expositio in Lucam*, VII. 245 (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1854) on the words: "Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mammona" (XVI. 9) says: Ut largiendo pauperibus, angelorum nobis caeterumque sanctorum gratiam comparemus.

[2] CYRILLUS HIEROS., *Catech. myst.* V. 9 (ed. Rupp. II. 387); *see above*, p. 216.

to, in order that through their intercession the Church's prayers might be graciously received by God. We find the saints of the old covenant mentioned along with the apostles and martyrs in other writings of this period as well.[1] The tombs and relics of the prophets, some of whom were also martyrs, of the martyrs of Judaism (the Machabees), and of the patriarchs received the same honour as that which the Church paid to the martyrs' bodies and resting-places.[2]

In addition to these saints, others now began to receive similar veneration on account of the sanctity of their lives, *i.e.*, famous ascetics (*confessores*) and bishops. The remarkable growth of monasticism drew attention on all hands to the fathers of the desert who had been the originators of this form of the ascetic life. Their lives, written in the fourth and fifth centuries, in which are recorded their wonderful lives and remarkable miracles, were the means of spreading afar the veneration of these new victors over the power of the devil. The high esteem in which from the beginning the Church had held the virtue of virginity must also be borne in mind. The almost superhuman renunciation of their lives,

[1] *Cf.* for example, HILARIUS, *Tract. in Ps.* CXLVI. 9 (MIGNE, P.L. XI. 873): Hi ergo montes (Ps. CXX. 1), patrarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum altitudines, fœnum pecoribus producunt.

[2] HIERONYMUS, *epist.* cviii. *ad Eustochium*, 13, concerning the tombs of the twelve patriarchs, Eliseus, Abdias and St. John the Baptist (MIGNE, P.L. XXII. 889). *Cf.* especially the *Peregrinatio s. Sylviæ*, ed. GAMURRINI, Roma 1887, p. 35 *et seqq.* The translation of the body of the prophet Samuel to Thrace, HIERONYMUS, *adv. Vigilantium*, 5.

and especially the belief that God had worked numerous miracles by means of these fathers of asceticism, gave rise to the assurance that their intercessions availed much with God after their death. Their relics and graves were honoured in the same way as those of the martyrs. When Hilarion was dead, Hesychius went to Cyprus and carried off the body of the famous ascetic at the risk of his life. His object was to convey it to Palestine, that the monks of Majuma might not be deprived of the possession of the saint's tomb. A pious woman, called Constantia, died of grief at the removal of the body, because she had been accustomed to spend the night in prayer at his grave in order to obtain for her prayers the assistance of the saint's intercession.[1] In the life of St. Ephrem Syrus, St. Gregory of Nyssa tells how a man of the same name, being in great danger of death, invoked the saint, "Holy Ephrem come to my aid!" and was saved on the spot. The writer concludes with a prayer beseeching Ephrem, "who ministers at the heavenly altar, and along with the angels sacrifices to the Prince of Life and the Holy Trinity, to remember us all and obtain for us the forgiveness of our sins."[2] St. Gregory of Nazianzum declares his conviction that the hands of the ascetics which have performed so many miracles had also

[1] HIERONYMUS, *Vita Hilarionis*, 46-47.

[2] GREGOR. NYSS., *Vita Ephræm Syri* (MIGNE, P. G. XLVI. 849). The prayer to St. Ephrem is as follows: *Σὺ δὲ τῷ θείῳ παριστάμενος θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ τῇ ζωαρχικῇ καὶ ὑπεραγίᾳ λειτουργῶν σὺν ἀγγέλοις Τριάδι, μέμνησο πάντων ἡμῶν, αἰτούμενος ἡμῖν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, αἰωνίου τε βασιλείας ἀπόλαυσιν.*

brought to naught the impiety of Julian the Apostate.[1] Since these servants of God were endued with so much power during their life, no one doubted that they were able after death to obtain help from God for those who invoked their aid and intercession. The heroes of the ascetic life, who had steadfastly resisted all the enemies of salvation and all kinds of temptation, merited for themselves a heavenly crown resembling that of the martyrs.[2]

In the same way, bishops, who had been distinguished for their zeal for the faith and their holiness of life, were also the object of special veneration after their death. St. Basil ranks the famous apostle of Cappadocia, Gregory, the wonder-worker, among the apostles and prophets; he counts his soul among those who are united to God because he was a shining light in the Church, had power over demons by the strength of his spirit, worked so many miracles, and converted so many people: therefore, his memory will for ever remain imperishable in the churches.[3] Bishops who had been banished on account of their fidelity to the faith, and had died in banishment, were

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* IV., *contra Julianum* I. 71 (P. G. XXXV. 593).

[2] HIERONYMUS, *ad Eustochium ep.* cviii. 31 (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 905): Secura esto, Eustochium, magna hæreditate ditata es. Pars tua Dominus; et quo magis gaudeas, mater tua longo martyrio coronata est. Non solum enim effusio sanguinis in confessione reputatur, sed devotæ quoque mentis servitus immaculata quotidianum martyrium est. Illa corona de rosis et violis plectitur, ista de liliis.

[3] BASILIUS, *de Spiritu sancto*, XXIX. 72 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 205).

venerated in the same way as the martyrs; their relics and tombs were surrounded with the same reverence.[1] In his oration on Melitius, Bishop of Antioch, St. John Chrysostom represents his soul as dwelling in the celestial tabernacles and aiding the prayers of the faithful members of his flock with God.[2] The Life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus shows he was venerated no less profoundly than the words of Basil just quoted prove that the faithful venerated St. Gregory.

Although not all the privileges enjoyed by the martyrs in the writings of this period were attributed to these other saints—the ascetics and bishops—still the worship of the latter was similar in its essence to that paid to the former, and found expression in the same outward manifestations. Their annual commemoration was celebrated in the community to which they had belonged, and the days of their festivals soon found a place in the liturgy alongside that of the martyrs.[3]

In this period the worship of the Mother of God attained to special importance. Her peculiar position as Mother of the Redeemer and Virgin Mother had indeed been emphasized by the doctors of the Church in the period before Constantine,[4] but in the writings of that period we find no special worship or invocation

[1] *Cf.* BASILIUS, *epist.* cxcvii. 2, *ad Ambrosium episc. Mediolan.* 2 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 712).

[2] JOAN. CHRYS. *de Melitio Antiocheno*, 3 (MIGNE, P. G. L. 520).

[3] DUCHESNE. *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 273, 2nd ed.

[4] *Cf. Marie dans l'Eglise Anténicéenne* by E. NEUBERT, Paris, 1908.

of her, as we do in the case of the apostles and martyrs. Two circumstances contributed in the period now before us to the development of her worship, *i.e.*, the remarkable growth of the ascetic life, which held up Mary before consecrated virgins as the highest ideal of their state of life, and the development of Christology, which brought out into special clearness her position as Mother of the Redeemer with all that this position implied. The Church's doctrine on the union of the two natures in the one person in Christ had special influence in bringing about this result.

Among all the writers of this time, SS. Ambrose and Jerome, the great champions and advocates of the virginal life, are prominent in eloquently depicting Mary, Virgin and Mother, as the perfect model of all the virtues which consecrated virgins were bound to practise.[1] In heaven she leads the choirs of virgin souls, with her the consecrated virgins will one day be numbered ;[2] she appears as the special patroness and "mother" of those who have vowed their virginity to

[1] AMBROSIUS, *de virginibus*, II. (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 220 *et seqq.*) ; *de institutione virginis* (*ibid.* 320 *et seqq.*) ; *Epositio in Lucam.* II. passim (*ibid.* 1640 *et seqq.*). HIERONYMUS, *adv. Hilvidium*, and numerous scattered passages in his other writings. AMBROSIUS, *de virginibus*, II. 2 xv. (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 222) : Talis enim fuit Maria, ut ejus unius vita omnium sit disciplina. Si igitur auctor non displicet, opus probemus, ut quæcumque sibi ejus exoptat præmium, imitetur exemplum. Quantæ in una virgine species virtutum emicant. Secretum verecundiæ, vexillum fidei, devotionis obsequium : virgo intra domum, comes ad ministerium, mater ad templum.

[2] AMBROSIUS, *de virginibus*, II. 2, xvi. (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 222).

God.[1] No less clearly does St. Augustine celebrate the union of motherhood with perpetual virginity in the Mother of God, and points to her as the ideal, not only for consecrated virgins, but for all pious believers as well, and even for the whole Church; it is a favourite idea with him to compare Mary, the virgin mother, with the Church.[2] We find similar expressions also in the Greek and Syrian teachers of the period.

It follows from this conception of their relation to Mary, their ideal exemplar, that the ascetics, especially

[1] HIERONYMUS, *epist.* xxxix. *ad Paulam super obitu Blæsillæ*, 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXII. 472). Jerome places in the mouth of the departed the following words addressed to her mother: Si unquam me amasti, mater, . . . ne invideas gloriæ meæ, nec hoc agas ut a nobis in perpetuum separemur. Putas esse me solam? Habeo pro te Mariam matrem Domini. Multas hic video quas ante nesciebam. O quanto melior est iste comitatus.

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *De sancta virginitate*, 5 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 399): Verum tamen ille unius sanctæ Virginis partus omnium sanctarum virginum est decus. Et ipsæ cum Maria matres Christi sunt, si Patris ejus faciunt voluntatem. Hinc enim et Maria laudabilius atque beatius Christi mater est, secundum supra memoratam ejus sententiam: "Quicumque facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in cœlis est, ipse mihi frater, et soror, et mater est." Has sibi omnes propinquitates, in populo quem redemit, spiritualiter exhibet: fratres et sorores habet sanctos viros et sanctas feminas, quoniam sunt illi in cœlesti hæreditate cohæredes. Mater ejus est tota Ecclesia, quia membra ejus, id est fideles ejus per Dei gratiam ipsa utique parit. Item mater ejus est omnis anima pia, faciens voluntatem Patris ejus fecundissima charitate, in iis quos parturit, donec in eis ipse formetur (Gal. IV. 19). Maria ergo faciens voluntatem Dei, corporaliter Christi tantummodo mater est spiritualiter autem et soror et mater.

the consecrated virgins and widows, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God, not merely venerated and honoured the Mother of God, but besought her intercession as well. The example of the virgin Justina, mentioned by St. Gregory of Nazianzum, who invoked the Virgin Mary to preserve her virginity, is certainly not an isolated instance; we may rather conclude from it the universal belief of the faithful.[1]

The other circumstance which secured for Mary a special position among the saints was her dignity as Mother of God, Mother of the Redeemer. As such "she was purified in body and soul by the Holy Ghost, since it was necessary that her conception should be worthy of all honour, and her virginity should be preserved."[2] In his controversy with Pelagius, who had appealed to a long list of saints of both sexes in the holy scriptures, St. Augustine exempts Mary alone as being entirely free from sin.[3] According to St. Jerome, she excels all holy women, as a clear light excels the glimmer of the stars.[4] To Mary alone was

[1] GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* XXIV. *in laudem Cypriani martyris*, 11 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXV. 1181): Ταῦτα καὶ πλείω τούτων ἐπιφημίζουσα καὶ τὴν παρθένον Μαρίαν ἱκετεύουσα βοηθῆσαι παρθένῳ κινδυνευούσῃ, τὸ τῆς νηστείας καὶ χαμευνίας προβάλλεται φάρμακον.

[2] GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* XLV. *in s. Pascha* 9 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVI. 633).

[3] AUGUSTINUS, *De natura et gratia*, 36 (MIGNE, P. L. XLIV. 267): Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus cum de peccatis agitur haberi volo quæstionem: unde enim scimus quid ei plus gratiæ collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum quæ concipere ac parere meruit quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum?

[4] HIERONYMUS, *Comm. in Saphoniam prologus* (MIGNE

due the angel's salutation, "Ave, gratia plena," for she alone has received the grace, merited by none other, of being filled with the source of grace.[1] No other had received from the Lord so great a merit or obtained a greater reward.[2] St. Ambrose compares Mary with Eve, and interprets the prophecy given immediately after the fall as referring to her (Gen. iii. 3). Both St. Augustine[3] and St. John Chrysostom[4] draw out this parallel between the mother of the human race and the Mother of Christ; they contrast the sin of Eve by which death came into the world, and the perfection of Mary by which Life was born. In a certain sense, they attributed to the Mother of God an active part in the redemptive work

P. L. XXV. 1337): taceo de Anna et Elizabeth et ceteris sanctis mulieribus quarum velut siderum igniculos clarum Mariæ lumen abscondit.

[1] AMBROSIUS, *Expositio in Lucam*, II. 9 (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1636).

[2] AMBROSIUS, *de institutione virginis*, VI. 45 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 331): Et quæ esset, cui majus quam matri Dominus meritum reponeret, præmium reservaret? Nulli enim uberiora quam virginitati deputavit munera, sicut Scriptura nos docet. Sic enim per Jesaiam Dominus locutus est (Isa. LVI. 2-5). Aliis promittit ut non deficiant, matrem suam deficere patiebatur? Sed non deficit Maria, non deficit virginitatis magistra.

[3] AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* ccxxxii. *in diebus Paschalibus*, III. 2 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVIII. 1108): Nam hoc est quod egit Dominus Jesus Christus, ut prius illum sexus femineus resurrexisse nuntiaret. Quia per sexum femineum cecidit homo, per sexum femineum reparatus est homo, quia virgo Christum pepererat, femina resurrexisse nuntiabat. Per feminam mors per feminam vita. *Cf.* AUG., *Sermo* li. 2 (*ibid.* 335).

[4] JOANNES. CHRYS., *de s. Droside mart.* 3 (MIGNE, P. G. L. 687 *et seq.*).

of Christ, and in this way admitted the existence of a special bond between her and the faithful redeemed by Christ. St. Ambrose mentions Christ's mother in another connection, as sharing in the Saviour's work of redemption, *i.e.*, at the crucifixion. She stood under the Cross, awaiting not the death of the surety, but the salvation of the world. Perhaps, she even believed to add something to her Son's sacrifice by her own death; Christ, however, needed no assistant in redeeming all men; "He accepted, indeed, His mother's sympathy, but sought not the help of man."[1]

By her divine maternity, Mary had a still wider significance as a model for the faithful; for everyone who believes in Christ conceives and brings forth the Word of God in his soul and acknowledges His works; still the soul must keep itself pure and free from sin, and then it praises the Lord as Mary's soul magnified Him.[2] It is clear that teaching of this kind must

[1] AMBROSIUS, *Expositio in Lucam*, X. 132 (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1930): Sed nec Maria minor quam matrem Christi decebat, fugientibus apostolis ante crucem stabat, et piis spectabat oculis Filii vulnera; quia exspectabat non pignoris mortem sed mundi salutem. Aut fortasse quia cognoverat per Filii mortem mundi redemptionem, aula regalis putebat se et sua morte publico muneri aliquid addituram. Sed Jesus non egebat adjutore ad omnium redemptionem, qui dixit: "Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber" (Ps. LXXXVII. 5). Suscepit quidem matris affectum sed non quæsivit hominis auxilium.

[2] AMBROSIUS, *Expos. in Lucam* II. 26, 27 (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1642): "Beata, inquit, quæ credidisti." Sed et vos beati qui audistis et credidistis; quæcumque enim crediderit anima et concipit et generat Dei Verbum et opera ejus agnoscit. Sit in singulis Mariæ anima, ut magnificet Dominum; sit in singulis spiritus Mariæ, ut exultet in Deo. Si secundum

have tended to spread the veneration for the Mother of God among Christian people. The rise of the Collyridians shows the development of this veneration in an heretical direction by the offering of sacrifices to Mary and so paying her divine honours. St. Epiphanius opposed this error as well as that of the Andicomarians, who refused to pay Mary any special veneration, while he maintained the true meaning of the honour shown to her.[1] This widespread veneration for the Mother of God was also manifested by the appointment in this period of special festivals in her honour. The ancient Nestorian and Coptic calendars have each one feast of this kind; a similar festival was first mentioned as observed in Gaul by Gregory of Tours; in Rome the octave of Christmas, 1st January, was especially set apart for the memorial of the Mother of God, according to the most ancient liturgical documents.[2] These festivals in turn contributed to spread and deepen the worship of Mary among Christian people.[3]

carnem una mater est Christi, secundum fidem tamen omnium fructus est Christus. Omnis enim anima accipit Dei Verbum, si tamen immaculata et immunis a vitiis, intemerato castimoniam pudore custodiat. Quæcunque igitur talis esse potuerit anima, magnificat Dominum sicut anima Mariæ magnificavit Dominum et exultavit spiritus ejus in Deo salutari.

[1] EPIPHANIUS, *Adv. hæreses*, III. *hær.* LXXVIII. *adv. Antidicomarianitas*, and *hær.* LXXIX. *adv. Collyridianos* (MIGNE, P. G. XLII. 699 *et seqq.*, 739 *et seqq.*).

[2] *Cf.* DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 258 *et seqq.* KELLNER, *Heortology*, p. 225 *et seqq.*

[3] In what we have said above we have confined ourselves to the questions relating to the worship of Mary which bear upon our subject. The newer literature on the whole question will be

From the foregoing it is clear how in this period the worship of the saints, other than the apostles and martyrs, gained a footing in the Church, to which succeeding centuries gave a further development. All essential points relative to the question are to be found in the writings of the doctors of the period.

found under the article "Maria" in HERDER'S *Kirchenlexikon*, 2nd ed. VIII. p. 727.

CHAPTER V.

THE WORSHIP AND INVOCATION OF ANGELS.

THE doctrine concerning the relation of the faithful on earth to the holy angels developed during the fourth and fifth centuries on the same lines as in the period before Constantine.[1] All writers in the Church regard the angels as the ordained channel through whom God orders the course of this world. Part of this ministry consists of the help and protection given by angels to the faithful in this world, with the object of leading them to partake in the blessings of redemption and citizenship in the heavenly kingdom of God. A deeper foundation was given to this belief in the relation between angels and men by the doctrine of the City of God, which owed its development to St. Augustine. The angels form the heavenly City of God, and this part of the Holy City comes to the help of the other part which is still wayfaring here below, for both parts will one day be united, and even now are one in the bond of love.[2] The angels invite men to a share in the kingdom of God and desire that they become its citizens.[3] More-

[1] On the teaching concerning the angels, *cf.* Schwane, Dogmengeschichte, II. 2nd ed., pp. 231-254.

[2] AUGUSTINUS, *Enchiridion*, 56 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 258 *et seq.*). *Cf.* above, p. 175.

[3] AUG., *De civitate Dei*, X. 25 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 303): Hæc est gloriosissima civitas Dei: hæc unum Deum novit et

over, St. Augustine connects the ministry of angels to men with the ministrations which they rendered to Christ the Lord. The Church is the body of Christ, and so the Son of Man is both in heaven above, and on earth below, where His mystical body dwells, and the angels mount up to the Head and descend to the members.[1]

The great majority of Greek and Latin doctors teach plainly that each baptised person has a special guardian angel, and this may be regarded as the universally accepted teaching. Eusebius of Cæsarea is not clear, for he speaks only in general terms of the guardian angels appointed by God to watch over the faithful.[2] The Cappadocian doctors, SS. Basil and Gregory, and St. John Chrysostom, teach expressly that those who believe in Christ and belong to the Church have their own particular guardian angels to protect them and urge them on to good works.[3] St.

colit: hanc angeli sancti annuntiaverunt, qui nos ad ejus societatem invitaverunt, civesque suos in illa esse voluerunt; quibus non placet ut eos colamus tanquam nostros deos, sed cum eis et illorum et nostrum Deum; nec eis sacrificemus, sed cum ipsis sacrificium Deo simus.

[1] AUG., *Enarr. in Ps.* XLIV. 20 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVI. 507): Angeli Dei ascendant et descendant per scalas illas, fiat hoc in Ecclesia. . . . Hoc fit in Ecclesia: ascendunt et descendunt angeli Dei super Filium hominis, quia sursum est Filius hominis, ad quem ascendunt corde, id est caput ejus; et deorsum est Filius hominis, id est corpus ejus. Membra ejus hic sunt, caput sursum est: ascenditur ad caput, descenditur ad membra. Christus ibi, Christus hic.

[2] EUSEBIUS CÆS., *Præparatio evangelica*, XIII. 13 (MIGNE, P. G. XXI. 1107); *Demonstratio evangelica*, III. 3 (*ibid.* XXII. 193).

[3] *Cf.* BASILIUS, *Adversus Eunomium*, III. 1 (MIGNE, P. G.

Basil, however, thinks the guardian angel is driven away by sins "as smoke drives away bees and a bad odour doves."[1] Among Latin theologians SS. Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome maintain a view similar to that of the Greek fathers.[2] We shall not be wrong if we attribute this opinion chiefly to the influence exercised by Origen's works. St. Ambrose often refers to the ministry of angels to the faithful in general without attributing to each man a special guardian. In St. Augustine, we do not find anything more definite which would lead us to suppose an angelic guardian was appointed to each of the faithful, although the angels hold a prominent position in his whole system of doctrine concerning the Church as the City of God, and he regards the offices of the angels to the elect as being of very great importance. The Abbé Turmel traces back this idea of St. Augustine

XXIX. 656 *et seq.*) ; *de Spiritu sancto*, 13 (P. G. XXXII. 120) ; *Hom. in Ps.* XXXIII. 5 (P. G. XXIX. 364) ; *Hom. in Ps.* XLV. 2 (*ibid.* 417-419) ; *Hom. in Ps.* XLVIII. 9 (*ibid.* 453). GREGOR. NYSS., *de vita Moisis* (P. G. XLIV. 337 *et seq.*). JOAN. CHRYS., *in Matth. hom.* LIX. 4 (P. G. LVIII. 579) ; *in epist. ad Coloss.* I. *hom.* III. 4 (P. G. LXII. 322) ; *cf.* also *de laudibus Pauli hom.* VII. (P. G. L. 509).

[1] BASILIUS, *Hom. in Ps.* XXXIII. 5 : Παντὶ πεπιστευκότι εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἄγγελος παρεδρεύει, ἐὰν μήποτε αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀποδιώξωμεν· ὡς γὰρ τὰς μελίσσας καπνὸς φυγαδεύει, καὶ τὰς περιστερὰς δυσωδία ἐξελάυνει, οὕτω καὶ τὸν φύλακα τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἄγγελον ἡ πολύδακρυς καὶ δυσώδης ἁφίστησιν ἁμαρτία.

[2] HILARIUS, *Tract in Ps.* LXV. 13 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 429 *et seq.*) ; *in Ps.* CXVIII. 7 (*ibid.* 506) ; *in Ps.* CXX. 4 (*ibid.* 655) ; *in Ps.* CXXXIV. 17 (*ibid.* 761). AMBROSIUS, *in Ps.* XXXVII. 43 (P. L. XIV. 1080) ; *in Ps.* XXXVIII. 32 (*ibid.* 1104). HIERONYMUS, *in Jeremiam*, XXX. 12 (P. L. XXIV. 903).

to his doctrine of predestination, which precludes the constant ministration of a particular guardian angel, though it leaves room for the ministry of angels as mediators between God and the faithful, without giving to each individual his own protector.[1] Cassian, indeed, the opponent of the doctrine of predestination, gives each man not only a good angel but an evil angel as well, relying on the Pastor of Hermes, and attributes the choice between the good and evil counsellors to man's free will.[2] Among the Greek fathers, Gregory of Nyssa is the only one who also teaches that every man has not only his good angel but his own evil angel by his side.[3] We have seen how in the period before Constantine the view was already held that churches and assemblies of the faithful enjoyed the patronage of special angels (*vide ante*, p. 140). In the period now before us, many teachers of the Church put forth the same opinion. St. Basil consoles the priests of Nicopolis, when they were compelled to hold their services outside the town on account of the intrusion of an Arian bishop, by saying that the angel overseer (ἔφορος) of their Church is driven out along with them.[4] St. Gregory of Nazianzum has no doubt that each Church, according to what St. John says in the Apocalypse, has its own guardian angel, and he addresses a special farewell to these ἔφοροι in his oration on his departure.[5] St. John

[1] *Revue d'hist. et de littér. religieuses*, III. (1898), p. 542.

[2] CASSIANUS, *Collatio* VIII. 12, 17.

[3] GREGOR. NYSS., *de vita Moisis* (MIGNE, P. G. XLIV. 337).

[4] BASILIUS, *epist.* II. CCXXXVIII. (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 889).

[5] GREGOR. NAZ., *oratio* XLII., *Supremum vale*, 9, 27 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXVI. 469, 492).

Chrysostom also refers to the angels who are present at the liturgical assemblies of the Church,[1] and among the Latin fathers, St. Ambrose speaks of angels who preside over the churches.[2]

The assistance given by the heavenly spirits to the members of the Church, whether as specially appointed guardian angels or as God's ministers in the guidance of the faithful in general, was manifold. Their ministry was described in the first place as a protection against the dangers which the evil powers were always placing in the way of the faithful. As cities are protected by their walls against the attacks of enemies, so the Christian's soul is protected by the guardian angel.[3] They are further described as instructors (παιδάγωγοι) and shepherds of the just, leading them on to perform good works.[4] Through their ministry, God guides us to eternal blessedness.[5] They accompany us during our earthly pilgrimage to the eternal city of God in the world to come, where they already enjoy blessedness.[6] They enlighten our spirits by the light of their knowledge, or

[1] JOANNES CHRYS., *Hom. de ascensione Domini*, I. (MIGNE, P. G. L. 443).

[2] AMBROSIUS, *Expositio in Ps.* CXVIII. *sermo.* i. 9-10 (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1267 *et seqq.*).

[3] BASILIUS, *Hom. in Ps.* XXXIII. 5 (MIGNE, P. G. XXIX. 364). *Cf.* HILARIUS, *Tract. in Ps.* CXXXIV. 17 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 761).

[4] BASILIUS, *de spiritu sancto*, 13 (MIGNE, P. G. XXXII. 120); *adv. Eunomium*, III. 1 (*ibid.* XXIX. 655). JOANNES CHRYS., *in epist. ad Coloss.* I. *hom.* III. 4 (P. G. LXII. 322).

[5] HILARIUS, *Tract in Ps.* CXX. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 655).

[6] AUGUSTINUS, *Enarr. in Ps.* LXII. 6 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVI. 751).

rather by the light of God, which they communicate to us.[1] They bring the prayers of the faithful before God,[2] and intercede for those placed under their charge.[3] St. Augustine does not exclude the operation of the angels from the working of miracles.[4] In fact, we can say that in the opinion of the fathers

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Enarr. in Ps.* CXVIII. *sermo* xviii. 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVII. 1553): Deus itaque per seipsum, quia lux est, illuminat pias mentes, ut ea quæ divina dicuntur vel ostenduntur intelligant. Sed si ad hoc ministro, utitur angelo, potest quidem aliquid agere angelus in mente hominis, ut capiat lucem Dei et per hanc intelligat; sed ita dicitur intellectum dare homini et quasi, ut ita dicam, intellectuare hominem, quemadmodum quisquam dicitur lucem dare domui vel illuminare domum, cui fenestram facit, cum eam non sua luce penetrat et illustrat, sed tantummodo aditum quo penetretur atque illustretur aperiat.

[2] AUG., *Enarr. in Ps.* LXXVIII. 1 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXVI. 1009): Nam et angeli quæ hominibus nuntiant, nescentibus nuntiant; quæ autem Deo nuntiant, scienti nuntiant, quando illi offerunt orationes nostras, et ineffabili modo de actibus suis æternam veritatem tanquam legem incommutabilem consulunt. *Cf.* AUG., *epist.* cxl. 69: Anuntiant angeli non solum nobis beneficia Dei, sed etiam preces nostras illi. HILARIUS, *Tract in Ps.* CXXIX. 7 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 722). *Comment. in Matth.* XVIII. 5 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 1020).

[3] HILARIUS, *in Ps.* CXXIX. 7: *Intercessione* itaque horum non natura Dei eget, sed infirmitas nostra. Missi enim sunt propter eos qui hæreditabunt salutem: Deo nihil ex his quæ agimus ignorante, sed infirmitate nostra ad rogandum et promerendum spiritalis intercessionis ministerio indigente (P. L. IX. 722).

[4] AUG., *De civitate Dei*, X. 13 (MIGNE, P. L. XLI. 291); Porro autem quæcumque miracula, sive per angelos, sive quocumque modo ita divinitus fiunt, ut Dei unius, in quo solo beata vita est, cultum religionemque commendent, ea vere ab eis vel per eos, qui nos secundum veritatem pietatemque diligunt, fieri, ipso Deo in illis operante, credendum est.

whatever God does for the salvation of men is performed through the ministry of angels.

This activity of the angels in promoting the salvation of men demands from men in return the duty of love and reverence. St. Augustine founds the duty of love towards the angels on the command to love our neighbours, since he includes them among our neighbours.[1] The greater number of writers in this period speak from time to time of the veneration due to the angels from the faithful; the words of Eusebius,[2] at the beginning of the period, express the universal belief of both the doctors of the Church and the Christian people. The position of the angels as holy beings and patrons of the faithful led to the latter invoking their assistance in the same way as they did that of the saints. St. Ambrose, when concluding the account of the healing of St. Peter's wife's mother, exhorts Christians to invoke

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *De doctrina christiana*, I. 30 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIV. 31): Sed utrum ad illa duo præcepta etiam dilectio pertineat angelorum, non irrationabiliter quæri potest. . . . Jam vero si vel cui præbendum est vel a quo nobis præbendum est officium misericordiæ recte proximus dicitur, manifestum est hoc præcepto quo jubemur diligere proximum, etiam sanctos angelos contineri, a quibus tanta nobis misericordiæ impenduntur officia, quanta multis divinarum Scripturarum locis animadvertere facile est.

[2] EUSEBIUS CÆSAR., *Demonstratio Evangelica*, III. 3 (MIGNE, P. G. XXII. 193): Ἐν τοῖς δογματικοῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων παρειλήφαμεν εἶναί τινας μετὰ τὸν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν δυνάμεις, ἀσωμάτους τὴν φύσιν καὶ νοερὰς λογικάς τε καὶ παναρέτους, τὸν παμβασιλέα χορευούσας, ὧν πλείους καὶ μέχρι ἀνθρώπων νεύματι τοῦ Πατρὸς διά τινας σωτηρίους οἰκονομίας ἀπεστάλθαι· ἃς δὴ γνωρίζειν καὶ τιμᾷν κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀξίας ἐδιδάχθημεν, μόνῳ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ τὴν σεβάσμιον τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντες.

the angels that their intercessions may compensate for their own unworthiness.[1] In another passage he declares that the angels protect those who invoke them in their prayers.[2] This teaching concerning the guardian angels has its moral significance from the fact that the thought of their presence is calculated to restrain Christians from sin, and the teachers of the Church do not fail to make use of this consideration in their exhortations.[3]

The worship of the angels gave rise to the custom of erecting churches and oratories in honour of the two princes of the heavenly host, Michael and Gabriel, which dates from the fourth century onwards; St. Michael being pointed out in the holy scriptures as the patron of God's people, and St. Gabriel being the messenger sent to proclaim the incarnation of our Lord. Didymus of Alexandria refers to a large number of churches dedicated to God under the name of one or other of these angels not merely in cities, but in villages and in the country, and speaks of their rich ornaments of gold, silver and ivory. These churches were places of

[1] AMBROSIUS, *De viduis*, IX. (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 264): Ægri enim nisi ad eos aliorum precibus medicus fuerit invitatus, pro se rogare non possunt. Infirma est caro, mens ægra est et peccatorum vinculis impedita, ad medici illius sedem debile non potest explicare vestigium. Obsecrandi sunt angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt; martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quodam corporis pignore patrocinium vindicare.

[2] AMBROSIUS, *Sermo contra Auxentium, de basilicis non tradendis*, 11 (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 1052).

[3] *Cf.* AMBROSIUS, *Expositio in Ps.* CXVIII. *sermo* i. 9 *et seqq.* (MIGNE, P. L. XV. 1267 *et seqq.*).

pilgrimage to the afflicted, who hoped to obtain an answer to their prayers and relief from their necessities in these holy places dedicated to the angels.[1] Only one of these churches has been more fully described —the Μιχαήλιον, built by Constantine the Great not far from Constantinople, in which, according to Sozomen, many miracles were wrought.[2] The statements of Didymus are borne out by what Theodoret says about the numerous oratories of St. Michael in Phrygia and Pisidia.[3] It appears that the worship of the angels in those regions was of a superstitious character, for the Synod of Laodicea (in Phrygia Pacatiana) forbade the worship of angels, and speaks in this connection of "secret idolatry,"[4] yet at the same time the teachers of the Church endeavoured to maintain the true meaning of the worship of the angels.[5] The evidence given above shows that the churches bearing the names of the angels Michael and Gabriel were confined to the East, but before long we meet with oratories dedicated to St. Michael in the West also. The erection of churches in honour of the princes of the heavenly host prepared the way for a special festival of each of the angels, instituted

[1] Didymus Alex., *de Trinitate*, II. 8 (Migne, P. G. XXXIX. 592).

[2] Sozomenos, *Historia eccl.* II. 3.

[3] Theodoret, *in Coloss.* II. 18 (Migne, P. G. LXXXII. 613).

[4] *Council of Laodicea*, *canon* 35 (ed. Mansi, II. 563): *Cf.* Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I², pp. 768 *et seq.*

[5] St. Augustine explains in several places that the veneration of the angels was distinct from the adoration due to God alone; *Cf. De civitate Dei*, X. 19 (Migne, P. L. XLI. 297): *Enarr. in Ps.* XCVI. 12 (Migne, P. L. XXXVII. 1246).

on the day of the dedication of these churches;[1] in the fifth and sixth centuries we find a special festival of St. Michael observed in both East and West, and in this way his worship gained a place in the liturgy similar to that accorded to the feasts of the saints.

[1] DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, pp. 264 *et seq.*; KRIEG, Art. "Feste" in KRAUS, *Realencyclopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, I. p. 500: KELLNER, *Heortology* (Eng. Trans.) pp. 328 *et segq.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADDITION OF *COMMUNIO SANCTORUM* TO THE APOSTLES' CREED.

As a conclusion to all that we have said, the question of the origin and meaning of the addition of "Communio Sanctorum" to the Apostles' Creed demands consideration. Researches, more or less satisfactory, have appeared in numerous works on the creed published during the course of the last few years, without attaining an altogether satisfactory result.[1] I do

[1] The best treatment of original sources from our point of view is the important work of KATTENBUSCH, *Das apostolische Symbol*, I. (1894), pp. 102-130, 158-188. *Cf.* the art. "*Apostolisches Symbol*" by A. HARNACK in the Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie, 3. A. 1, pp. 741 *et seqq.* (translated into English by S. Means, London, A. & C. Black, 1901): E. HÜMPEL, *Nicetas, Bischof von Remesiana* (1895): DOM G. MORIN, O.S.B., *Nouvelles recherches sur l'auteur du "Te Deum"* in the Revue bénédictine XI. (1894), pp. 49-77, 337-345. Among the various treatises on the subject the chief are: A. HARNACK, *Das Apostol. Glaubensbekenntniss*, 1893, pp. 31 *et seqq.*, and the answer to Cremer's article (Hefte zur Christl. Welt, 3 pp. 11 *et seqq.*): H. CREMER, *Zum Kampf. um das Apostolicum;* a reply to Harnack, 1893, pp. 13 *et seqq.*; ZAHN, *Das apost. Symbolum*, 1893, pp. 88 *et seqq.;* O. ZÖCKLER, *Zum, Apostolikum-Streit*, 1893, p. 54 *et seqq.* Among Catholic writers the following are to be noted: DOM S. BÄUMER, O.S.B., *Das Apost. Glaubensbekenntniss*, 1893, p. 217 *et seqq.;* C. BLUME, S.J., *Das Apost. Glaubensbekenntniss*, 1893, pp. 171 *et seqq.* The second part of DÖRHOLT'S work, *Das Taufsymbolum der alten Kirche* (1st part, 1898), has not yet (1900) appeared.

not flatter myself that I had arrived at such a result; however, more light may be thrown on several contested points by studying them in connection with the results arrived at in the foregoing essay.

The discussion centres round three questions: (1) when and where was the addition made to the creed; (2) what was the precise meaning originally attached to the terms "sancti" and "communio"; (3) what were the motives which led to the addition being made? These three questions are intimately connected with each other, since the answer to the two last follows from that given to the first, and also because the two last cannot be answered except in conjunction with one another.

The first question is that which admits of the surest answer. Before the fifth century there is no evidence for the existence of the addition; again the addition is not to be found in any eastern creed; finally, among western creeds it is perfectly certain that only those belonging to Gaul contain it. Faustus of Reji (Riez in the south of France), who became bishop of the city between 449 and 462, and died shortly after 485, is the first who affords undoubted evidence for the existence of "Communio Sanctorum" in the creed used in his Church. In the work attributed to him, "de Spirito sancto," he speaks of

Valuable information is to be found in the art. "Gemeinschaft der Heiligen" by J. KÖSTLIN, in the *Realenc. für prot. Theol.* VI. pp. 503-507. To these may be added the following English works on the Apostles' Creed: A. E. BURN, *Introd. to the Creeds* (1899) and *The Apostles' Creed* (1906); articles in *The Journal of Theol. Studies*, vol. I. pp. 3 *et segq.*; vol III. pp. 1 *et segq.*, 481 *et segq.*

the words "Sanctorum Communionem" as occurring in the creed immediately after "sanctam ecclesiam."[1] Faustus is also in all probability the author of two homilies on the creed published by the well known student of the creeds, Caspari, which contain a brief explanation of the addition.[2] To Faustus is also ascribed a treatise, first edited by Caspari as "Tractatus Faustini de symbolo,"[3] which he considers is not directly written by Faustus, but has been extracted from his homilies by a writer of the sixth century, or at latest the seventh. However this may be, there is no doubt the creed of the Church of Riez in the middle of the fifth century contained the "Communio sanctorum," and it is also clear from the way Faustus speaks of the addition in the first-named treatise, and in the second of the two homilies, that these words had been current for a long period, not only in his church but in the churches of southern Gaul as well. The same thing appears in the sermon "de Symboli fide et bonis moribus," attributed, without hesitation, to St. Cæsarius of Arles (502-542), since the

[1] FAUSTUS REIENSIS, *De Spiritu sancto*, I. 2 (ed Engelbrecht, Corp. Script. eccl. lat. XXI. 104). *Cf.* W. BERGMANN, *Studien zu einer kritischen Sichtung der südgallischen Predigtlitteratur des 5 and 6 Jahrhunderts*, I. *Faustus von Reji*, Leipsig, 1898. The book "de Spiritu S." is with great probability regarded as the work of this Faustus.

[2] CASPARI, *Ungedruckte . . . Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, II. 183-213; *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, I. pp. 315 *et seqq.* *Cf.* BERGMANN, *op. cit.* The sermons certainly come from Gaul, and belong to the close of the fifth century.

[3] CASPARI, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, pp. 250 *et seqq.*

appearance of Kattenbusch's work (*op. cit.* I. pp. 165, *et seqq.*), in which this addition to the article on the Church is also found.[1] It is found also in many other sermons on the creed attributed to the Gallic divines belonging to the end of the fifth century and to the sixth.[2] It is quite certain that the creeds of the Gallic churches in the middle of the fifth century contained the addition "Communio Sanctorum" as part of their traditional contents.

In my opinion, the "Explanatio symboli" of a certain Bishop Nicetas, published by Caspari as the work of Nicetas of Aquileia (454-485) points to the same conclusion.[3] It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that the creed explained in this "explanatio" contained the addition.[4] Now Katten-

[1] *Sermo* ccxliv. inter opp. S. AUGUSTINI. Append. (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIX. 2194 *et seqq.*).

[2] *Sermones* ccxl. bis ccxliii., *ibid.* (MIGNE, *loc. cit.* 2189 *et seqq.*).

[3] CASPARI, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, pp. 341-360.

[4] NICETAS OF AQUILEJA, *Auslegung des Symbols* (ed. Caspari, *op. cit.* I. 355 *et seq.*). The passage which concerns us runs as follows: Post professionem beatæ trinitatis jam profiteris, te credere *sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ*. Ecclesia quid aliud, quam sanctorum omnium congregatio? Ab exordio enim sæculi sive patriarchæ, Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, sive prophetæ, sive apostoli, sive martyres, sive cæteri justi, qui fuerunt, qui sunt, qui erunt, una ecclesia sunt, quia, una fide et conversatione sanctificati, uno spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt; cujus corporis caput Christus esse perhibetur, ut scriptum est. Adhuc amplius dico. Etiam angeli, etiam virtutes et potestates supernæ in hac una confœderantur ecclesia, apostolo nos docente, quia *in Christo reconciliata sunt omnia, non solum quæ in terra sunt, verum et quæ in cœlo.* Ergo in hac una ecclesia crede te *communionem* consecuturum esse *sanctorum.* Scito, unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam

busch has proved (*op. cit* I. pp. 167 *et seqq.*) that a bishop of Aquileia of the fifth century could scarcely have been the author of the treatise in question,[1] and he is inclined to attribute it to some Gallic bishop of the same name (pp. 122 *et seqq.*). But it seems most probable that the author was Bishop Nicetas of Romatiana, concerning whose literary activity we find a short account in Gennadius,[2] who is the same person as the friend to whom Paulinus of Nola addressed one of his poems.[3] From Paulinus' poetic description it

in omni orbe terræ constitutam; cujus communionem debes firmiter retinere. Sunt quidem et aliæ pseudoeccllsiæ, sed nihil tibi commune cum illis, ut puta Manichæorum, Cataphriguarum, Marcionistarum vel cæterorum hæreticorum, sive schismaticorum, quia jam desinunt istæ ecclesiæ esse sanctæ, siquidem dæmoniacis deceptæ doctrinis aliter credunt, aliter agant, quam Christus (?) Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt. Possibly the passage is merely an explanation of the meaning of "sancta ecclesia catholica," which led to the use of the expression "Communion of Saints." But it seems most probable that "communio sanctorum" are words which occurred in the creed. The passage, as a whole, and especially the phrase "crede te *communionem* consecuturum esse *sanctorum*" can only be thus naturally explained. Vide HARNACK, *Real-encyclopädie*, 3 A. I. 754. For the history of Nicetas and his writings, *cf. Nicetas of Remesiana*, A. E. BURN, 1905.

[1] *Cf.* E. HÜMPEL, *Nicetas Bischof von Remesiana*, pp. 84-89.

[2] GENNADIUS, *de viris illustribus*, ed. Czapla, Münster, 1898, p. 56, chap. xxii. *Cf.* Czapla's notes and references to the literature of the subject.

[3] O. BARDENHEWER, Art. *Nicetas, Bischof von Romatiana*, in the Kirchenlexikon, 3rd ed. ix., 263 *et seqq.*; MORIN, *Rèvue bénédictine*, XI. (1894), pp. 61 *et seqq.*; HÜMPEL, *Nicetas Bischof von Remesiana*, esp. pp. 98 *et seqq.*; ZAHN. *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des apost. Symbolums*, in Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr. VII. (1896), pp. 106 *et seqq*. On the other hand, see KATTENBUSCH, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1896, No. 11, 301 *et seqq*.

appears that Nicetas was a missionary bishop who worked in Dacia;[1] and the city called "Romatiana" by Gennadius is the same as "Remesiana" in the neighbourhood of the modern Palanka in Servia. Starting from the identity of the author of the "Explanatio" with Nicetas of Remesiana, Harnack sees in the intercourse which existed between Pannonia and Gaul the possibility of the Gallic creed with its addition of "Communio sanctorum" having been influenced by St. Cyril's catechatical lectures about A.D. 500. These lectures he thinks would reach Gaul by way of Remesiana in Pannonia and Aquileia.[2] This explanation of the way in which "Communio sanctorum" was added to the creed, has in my opinion been with reason controverted by Köstlin (Realenc. 3rd ed. vi. 504). It would indeed be strange if the addition made to the Gallic creed could be due to the influence of St. Cyril's lectures, without the same influence having a similar effect on the creeds of Jerusalem or of the eastern churches as a whole. Again it would be strange that this addition should be adopted by the well organized churches of southern Gaul through the instrumentality of a missionary bishop of Dacia, and this without leaving any traces of its journey through the churches of northern Italy. In my opinion it was just the opposite thing which happened. This point is clear; in the middle of the fifth century the Gallic

[1] PAULINUS NOLANUS, *Poema* XVII. (MIGNE, P. L. LXI., 483 *et seqq.*); *cf. Epist.* XXIX. 14 (*ibid.* 321) and *Poema* XXVII.

[2] A. HARNACK, *Art. Apost. Symbolum*, Realencyclop. 3rd ed., I. p. 754.

creeds contained the additional article, and had done so for probably a long period. Elsewhere it is only in the "Explanatio" of Nicetas that we find it referred to, while it appears in the baptismal creed of no other church outside the confines of Gaul. If then Nicetas of Remesiana actually had the additional article in his creed, it seems simplest to refer it to Gallic influence, and to believe that Nicetas made use of the creed of some Gallic church. Harnack is quite correct in drawing attention to the intercourse between Pannonia and Gaul. We have only to remember St. Jerome. The schools of Gaul attracted scholars from various provinces of the western empire. This intercourse could however exert an influence upon Pannonia from Gaul quite as well as the other way about. It is not unlikely Nicetas visited Gaul in his youth and received his scientific and theological training there. Probably also his intimacy with Paulinus dates from the same period, for, if so, the close bond of friendship between the two men on the occasion of Nicetas' first visit to Nola in 398 can be more easily explained than if Paulinus then set eyes on him for the first time. Possibly the family of Nicetas spent some time in Gaul. None of these hypotheses are without foundation; there is evidence for the support of each in the facts of the period. The best explanation of the similarity of the creed used by Nicetas in his labours as missionary bishop with the baptismal creed of Gaul seems to me that his creed came from Gaul. In this case the evidence afforded by the "explanatio" would apply also to the creed of Gaul at the beginning of the fourth century,

and this agrees best with the knowledge we already possess of the peculiarities of the baptismal creeds of the Gallic church.

From what we have just said it follows that the answer to the second question proposed above, *i.e.*, as to the meaning of the words "Communio sanctorum," is not to be sought in biblical phraseology, as Zöckler does (p. 49), but in the literature current in the Gallic church of the fourth and fifth centuries. The form "sanctorum," according to Zahn (pp. 92 *et seqq.*), is to be taken as a neuter genitive. Because the creed must have existed in the churches of southern Gaul from an early date, he considers it highly probable that the Latin is the translation of a Greek original, which could scarcely be anything else than *τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων*, and this, in the phraseology of the Greeks, would mean nothing else than "participation in the holy things."[1] It would thus be an expression of the belief that in the sacraments, and especially in the eucharist, the gifts proffered therein are actually received. This explanation, according to which the article of the creed referred originally to belief in the operation of the sacraments, is with reason rejected by Zöckler (pp. 51-53). The arguments brought forth by Zahn in support of his view are in no wise convincing, and the passage from the sermon 241,

[1] The term *κοινωνία* is found in the writings of the fathers in connection with *ἅγιοι* in another sense, *e.g.*, in ST. ATHANASIUS, *epist. ad Dracontium*, 4 (MIGNE, P. G. XXV. 528). St. Athanasius here urges the duty of imitating the example of the saints and fathers (*κατὰ σκοπὸν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν πατέρων πολιτεύεσθαι*); if we separate ourselves from them we forfeit their communion (*ἀλλότριοι καὶ τῆς τούτων κοινωνίας γενόμεθα*).

ascribed to St. Augustine, but really belonging to some author of southern Gaul about A.D. 500, has certainly not the meaning which Zahn would give it.[1] The genitive "sanctorum" is taken as masculine in all known explanations of the creed belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries, and this is a fact which cannot be ignored. Who, however, are the "sancti"? Up till the end of the second century Christians in general were very often called *ἅγιοι*; but from the beginning of the third century the use of the term in this sense became rarer, and in the fourth century ceased altogether. As an example we may note the use of "Communio sanctorum" to denote ecclesiastical communion in a sermon of St. Augustine and in two Donatist writings.[2] "Sancti" is here used in its

[1] The passage runs (*Sermo* ccxli. 4, MIGNE, P. L. XXXIX. appendix, 2191): Credo sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam. Bene Symbolum Ecclesiam catholicam nominavit et sanctam, quia multæ ecclesiæ hæreticorum sunt; sed quæ non est catholica, nec sancta dici potest. Sequitur, *Sanctorum communionem.* Credentes ergo sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum habentes communionem, quia ubi est fides sancta, ibi est et sancta communio, credere vos quoque in corpore resurrectionem et remissionem peccatorum oportet. Omne sacramentum Baptismi in hoc constat, ut resurrectionem corporum et remissionem peccatorum nobis a Deo præstanda credamus. The author concludes from belief in the Holy Church and from participation in the Communion of Saints that the resurrection of the body and the forgiveness of sins are also to be believed. Then, as the last article, he gives a special proof of the efficacy of baptism. Still it does not follow from the allusion to baptism that by the phrase "sancta communio" the Eucharist is to be understood as Zahn would have us believe.

[2] As far as I can see the phrase occurs only in these three documents in the Christian literature of Africa belonging to this date. According to a remark of ZAHN'S (*Das apost. Symb.*

ancient sense. It is, however, worthy of notice that St. Augustine employs the phrase in a passage where he is speaking of the exclusion of the Patripassians from the Church; while in the two writings emanating from the Donatists the words "Communio sanctorum" are used in contra-distinction to open sinners.[1] The Donatists maintained that sinners ought not to be tolerated in the Church, and consequently that their body was the true and pure church. The use of the word "sancti" in this sense is explained partly from the context in which it occurs, and partly from the peculiar circumstances of the African Church, but it throws no light on the origin and meaning of "Communio sanctorum" in the Gallic creed. The position taken up by the Donatists has much in common with the Novatianist conception of the church as consisting of the pure. There were congregations of Novatianists in Gaul, and, accordingly, similar circumstances existed there at the end of the third century as in Africa at the time of the Donatist controversy. In Gaul, then, the Catholic Church might also have been designated as the

p. 91, note 3), G. VON ZEZWITSCH (*System. der Katechetik*, II², I. 123), says the three passages are the only ones known. I have not been able to consult the latter work.

[1] *Epist. ad Flavium Marcellinum* (MIGNE, P. L. XLIII. 835 inter Opp. S. Aug.): Si apostoli . . . in Ecclesia zizania, *i.e.*, filios diaboli pullulantes, in sanctorum communione dimittendos esse didicissent. Epistula *Cabarsussitani concilii* (cited by St. Aug., in Ps. XXXVI., MIGNE, P. L. XI. 1185 *et seqq.*): Decrevimus omnes sacerdotes Dei . . . hunc eumdem Primianum . . . quod incestos cum sanctorum communione miscuerit . . . a sacerdotali choro perpetuo esse damnatum.

Communion of Saints in the above sense in contradistinction to the pretensions of the Novatianists, but there is not the least indication of it in the literature of the period. By far the most usual, one might even say the universal, meaning of the word "sancti" in the fourth and fifth centuries was the same as is given at the present day to the word "saints"; it denotes those whose justice is full and complete, and who enjoy a position of special honour in the kingdom of God. It is this sense which is given to the term in all the explanations of this article of the creed composed by Gallic authors of the fifth and sixth centuries. Nicetas calls the Church "congregatio sanctorum," including therein all the just from the beginning as well as the angels, just as we found in various doctors of the Church quoted at the beginning of this Part (*vide ante*, p. 156 *et seqq.*). He concludes thus: "Ergo in hac una ecclesia crede te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum," plainly using "sancti" in the same sense as before. "Communio" is taken in the abstract sense, and the Communion of Saints designates here a spiritual benefit imparted to all who belong to the Church; there is no possibility of attaining to this benefit outside the limits of the Catholic Church.[1] I do not think the future "consecuturum" is to be pressed as meaning that this grace is only to be attained in the future life, the sense of the passage seems to me to be rather the following: He who belongs to the Catholic Church is a member of the body of Christ, composed of the "saints," *i.e.*, of all the holy and elect. Union with them through membership in the Church is the benefit in question,

[1] For the whole passage, *see above*, p. 257, note 4.

the "Communion of Saints." It brings with it the expectation of being one day admitted to their fellowship in the heavenly kingdom. The treatment of the subject is thoroughly Augustinian in its conception. In the second of the two homilies on the creed ascribed by Caspari to Faustus of Riez there is a brief explanation of the "Communio sanctorum," but the author is occupied with merely exhorting his hearers to honour the saints in the right way; he has no idea of the "sancti" being different from "the saints" in the technical sense of the word.[1] In the "Tractatus de Symbolo," by Faustus (or based upon his writings), there is also only a controversial allusion to the veneration of the relics of the saints, aimed at those who reject this form of veneration, *i.e.*, the followers of Vigilantius.[2] In the sermon quoted on p. 262

[1] FAUSTUS OF RIEZ, *Homily II. on the creed* (ed. CARPARI, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, I. p. 338): Credamus et *sanctorum communionem*, sed sanctos non tam pro dei parte, quam pro dei honore veneremur. Non sunt sancti pars illius, sed ipse probatur pars esse sanctorum. Quare? quia, quod sunt, de illuminatione et de similitudine ejus accipiunt; in sanctis autem non res dei, sed pars dei est. Quicquid enim de deo participant, divinæ est gratiæ, non naturæ. Colamus in sanctis timorem et amorem dei, non divinitatem dei, colamus merita, non quæ de proprio habent, sed quæ accipere pro devotione meruerunt. Digne itaque venerandi sunt, dum nobis dei cultum et futuræ vitæ desiderium contemptu mortis insinuant.

[2] *Tract. de Symbolo* (ed. CASPARI, *Alte und neue Quellen*, 273 *et seqq.*): Illos hic sententia illa confundit, qui sanctorum et amicorum Dei cineres non in honore debere esse blasphemant, qui beatorum martyrum gloriosam memoriam sacrorum reverentia monumentorum colendam esse non credunt. In Symbolum prævaricati sunt, et Christo in fonte mentiti sunt, et per hanc infidelitatem in medio sinu vitæ locum morti aperuerunt, ubi secundum Symbolum donatur abremissio peccatorum.

"sancti" is also to be taken in the sense of "saints." The author says: Where the holy faith is, there is also the holy fellowship; and so those who live in the holy Catholic Church in the true faith have also the Communion of Saints. Here "Communio" is plainly taken in the abstract sense, being coupled with "fides." In another sermon, also the composition of some Gallic preacher, "Communio" has a double significance with regard to "the saints," *i.e.*, "those who have departed in the faith we hold":—the faithful on earth must remain in union (societas) with the saints, and at the same time hold fast the communion of hope, obviously the hope of sharing in the heavenly reward.[1] The "communio sanctorum" is used in another sense in sermon 240 to denote the future life, for the author finds in it the meaning that the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which in this life are various in their degree, will be equally shared by all the elect in eternity; what one saint possessed in a lesser degree, he will receive through participation in the virtues of another.[2]

The doctors of the Gallic church in the fifth and sixth centuries were fully agreed that the

[1] *Sermo* ccxlii. *inter Ps.-Augustin.*, 4 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIX. 2193): Sanctorum communionem: id est, cum illis sanctis, qui in hac quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei communione teneamur. The passage is found word for word in a later compilation, *Sermo de symbolo*, 13 (MIGNE, P. L. XL. 1197).

[2] *Sermo* ccxl. *inter Ps.-Augustin.*, 1 (MIGNE, P. L. XXXIX. 2189): *Sanctorum communionem*: quia dona sancti Spiritus licet in hac vita diversa sint in singulis, in æternitate tamen erunt communia in universis, ut quod quisque sanctorum minus habuit in se, hoc in aliena vertute participet.

"sancti" are the elect and holy; sometimes the title is limited to the martyrs or perfect "saints"; in other writings, all Christians whatsoever who attain to the glory of heaven, are included under the term. In those passages under consideration which contain allusions to the meaning of the term, "communio" is taken in the abstract sense, and means a spiritual benefit bestowed in the Church. This does not militate against the same word, either alone or in conjunction with "sancta, dominca, &c.," being usually taken by western writers of the fourth and fifth centuries to denote external ecclesiastical communion.[1] Apart from the explanations of the creed by Gallic divines already quoted, we find "communio" used to signify the union of the faithful in the Church, without any special reference to external membership with her as opposed to heresy and schism.[2] Again we find it used in the abstract of union with Christ, and through Him, with God in everlasting bliss.[3] There is nothing, therefore,

[1] *Cf.* for example, HILARIUS, *de synodis*, 4 (MIGNE, P. L. X. 483); 8 (*ibid.* 485); *ad Constantium Aug.* I. 5 (*ibid.* 560); *contra Constantium imp.* 2 (*ibid.* 578 *et seq.*). AMBROSIUS, *ep.* XIII. *ad Theodosium* (MIGNE, P. L. XVI. 990 *et seqq.*), and many other passages. OPTATUS, *de schism. Donat.* II. 11 *et seqq.* (MIGNE, P. L. XI. 964 *et seqq.*); VI. 3 (*ibid.* 1070). See above p. 262.

[2] This is the case not only with African writers: *Cf.* ZENO, lib. II. tractatus XIV. iv. (MIGNE, P. L. XI. 438): Quod convenit cum ea, fidelium communionis sanctæ significabat sacramentum Thamar concepit in utero, Ecclesia corde concepit: illa semine, hæc verbo (&c.).

[3] HILARIUS, *Tract. in Ps.* LXIV. 14 (MIGNE, P. L. IX. 421): Habemus etiam et cibum paratum. Et quis hic cibus est? Ille scilicet, in quo ad Dei consortium præparamur, per communionem sancti corporis in communione deinceps sancti

to hinder "communio" being taken in the abstract sense in the above passages. And so the addition "Communio sanctorum" signifies the inward spiritual union of the faithful as members of Christ's mystical body with the other members of this body, especially the elect and perfectly just, whose participation in the heavenly kingdom of God is absolutely certain, and through whose intercessions help may be given to the faithful still wayfaring on earth. It is the same idea of spiritual fellowship which we found in numerous passages of the works of the fathers belonging to the preceding period (see above, p. 156 *et seqq.*). This union is a great spiritual benefit bestowed within the Church just as the "remissio peccatorum,"[1] which follows it in the creed. I see no difficulty, therefore, in holding that this is the original sense of the words, and that the addition was made to the creed with this intention. It is not necessary to think that the addition was adopted in opposition to some heresy.[2] In my opinion, the development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints fully accounts for the introduction of the phrase into the baptismal creed. The insertion of "Communionem sanctorum" into the creed is to be regarded in the same way as that of "remissionem peccatorum" which follows it:—it emphasised one of the chief spiritual privileges conveyed by membership in the Church, the kingdom of God.

corporis collocandi. "Communio," in the first place, means participation in the Eucharist, in the second, it is equivalent to the preceding "Dei consortium."

[1] *Cf.* AMBROSIUS, *De pœnitentia*, II. 3 (P. L. XVI. 521).

[2] HARNACK, *Das apost. Glaubensbekenntniss*, 3rd ed. p. 32 *et seq.*

CONCLUSION.

WE may now regard our task as ended. In the early period of the Church's history, the doctrine of the Communion of Saints has undergone no new dogmatic developments since the time of St. Augustine. To trace the further extension, in their later development, of certain points of doctrine, of which the premises had certainly been accepted already, such as the speculative dogmatic treatment of the doctrines of Purgatory, of the "Thesaurus Ecclesiæ," and of indulgences, belongs to the theology of the middle ages.

It may be a cause of astonishment to some, that in dealing with the historical development of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, I have had so little to say about the "heathenish" element in that doctrine. Protestant writers on the history of doctrine, and those who have studied the history of religious life in the early centuries, frequently maintain that the worship of saints and angels, both in its underlying principle and in its outward manifestation in the religious life of the Church and of the faithful, is "a subsidiary form of christianity" or "the sanctioning of heathendom in christendom."[1] As in judging all

[1] HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte*, II[3], pp. 439 *et seqq.* See SCHULTZE, *Untergang des griechisch-römischen Heidenthums*, II. p. 348, *cf.* H. DELEHAYE, *The Legends of the Saints* (translated by Mrs. Crawford, 1907), chap. VI.

questions connected with the history of religion in general, so in this case three possibilities have to be sharply distinguished. When in christendom we find beliefs and practices, whether in theological literature or in religious cult and popular usage, which resemble those which we find in philosophy or mythology or in the religious practices of heathendom, we must assure ourselves (1) whether the basis of these Christian beliefs are to be found in heathendom so that extraneous influences did actually operate upon the beliefs of Christians; (2) or whether the origin of these beliefs is entirely Christian, based upon the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, while certain heathen elements may yet have asserted themselves in the speculations of theologians or in the development of popular practices; (3) or, finally, whether these individual phenomena which we see in christianity are developed independently of similar phenomena among heathens, so that an influence from the side of the latter does not exist, and the resemblance simply arises from the fact that religion in its outward expressions, among Christians as well as among heathen, is in many things the outcome of that human nature common to members of both religions. If we apply these necessary assumptions to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, it is plain from the preceding essay how completely independent of all heathen doctrines and practices the Christian belief is in its origin and fundamental principles. The inner spiritual union of all members of the kingdom of God, the esteem enjoyed by the saints of the Old Testament as models of holy living,

the honour in which martyrdom was held, in virtue of which martyrs were regarded as perfect disciples of the Lord and special friends of Christ, the "expiatory" virtue of martyrdom, the intercession of the faithful for one another, and the conviction that thereby effectual aid could be obtained from God for others—all this is purely and entirely Christian. In the development of speculations upon the relation of departed souls to each other and to the faithful on earth, the Platonic doctrine of the soul, sometimes directly and sometimes through speculations on the angelic world, exercised a certain influence. The extent of this influence can be estimated only when the doctrine of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen on angels has been thoroughly investigated in its relation to Jewish and early Christian teaching on the angels on the one hand, and to the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the soul on the other. But here is precisely a point in which there is room for the greatest caution in pronouncing a verdict, for the resemblance is often merely external and accidental, and it is impossible to prove the existence of any direct influence exercised on Christian practices and opinions by pagan popular traditions. The question is similar to one we meet with in ancient Christian art. The similarity in external form between Christian and heathen representations does not prove that christianity adopted the contents of paganism. An enquiry into the details of these manifestations of the religious life is not a matter for the historian of dogma, it belongs rather to the history of Christian civilisation. It is sufficient for the object we have in

view to know that the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, so far as Christian belief and dogma are concerned, is exclusively a product of Christianity.

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